

PLUTARCH'S  
LIVES.

VOLUME II.

CONTAINING

PERICLES,	PAULUSEMILIUS,
FABIUS MAXIMUS,	PELOPIDAS,
ALCIBIADES,	MARCELLUS,
CORIOLANUS,	ARISTIDES,
TIMOLEON,	MARCUS CATO.

EDINBURGH:

Printed by A. DONALDSON and J. REID.  
For ALEXANDER DONALDSON, and sold at his  
shops in London and Edinburgh.

MDCCLXIII.



PLATE I  
Figures  
of the  
Fossil

C. This is a most interesting fossil, and is found in the same strata as the other fossils mentioned above. It is a small, rounded, and somewhat flattened object, and is found in the same strata as the other fossils mentioned above. It is a small, rounded, and somewhat flattened object, and is found in the same strata as the other fossils mentioned above.



Our latest discovery is a small, rounded, and somewhat flattened object, and is found in the same strata as the other fossils mentioned above. It is a small, rounded, and somewhat flattened object, and is found in the same strata as the other fossils mentioned above. It is a small, rounded, and somewhat flattened object, and is found in the same strata as the other fossils mentioned above.

THE  
L I F E  
O F  
P E R I C L E S.

CÆSAR once observing some strangers of distinction at Rome carrying young dogs and monkeys in their arms, and caressing them, asked, *Whether the women in their country ever bore any children?* by this farcaistical question reproving with a just severity and disdain those who lavish upon brutes that natural tenderness and affection which is due only to mankind. In the same manner, we must condemn those who employ that curiosity and love of knowledge which nature has implanted in our minds, upon low and worthless objects, while they neglect such as are excellent and useful.

Our senses being passive in receiving impressions from without, must be affected by all objects indifferently which happen to strike upon them, whether pleasant or offensive. But the mind has a power of choice, and can turn its attention to whatever objects it pleases. It ought therefore to employ itself in the best pursuits, not merely for the sake of contemplating what is good, but that it may be nourished and enriched by the contemplation. For as those gay and vivid colours, which strengthen and cheer the sight, are most grateful to the eye; so those objects of contemplation are to be chosen, which while they delight, at the same direct the

mind to the proper happiness of its nature. Such are the works of virtue. The mere description of these inspires the mind with a strong emulation and earnest desire to imitate them; whereas, in other things, our admiration is not always attended with a desire of imitating what we admire; nay, on the contrary, while we esteem the work, we often despise the workman. Thus we are pleased with perfumes and purple; but we look upon dyers and perfumers as men of a low and illiberal occupation. Therefore Antisthenes\*, when he was told that Ismenias was an excellent performer on the flute, well replied, *True; but he is a worthless man; otherwise he would not have been so good a musician*: and Philip said to his son Alexander, when once at a feast he had sung in a very agreeable and skilful manner, *Are you not ashamed to sing so well?* it being sufficient for a king to find leisure to hear others sing; and he does the muses no small honour, when he is present at the performances of those who excel in arts of this kind.

Every man who applies himself to mean and useless arts, is self-condemned, and must be convicted of a slothful indisposition to nobler occupations, by that very industry which he employs in such unprofitable pursuits. And there is no youth of a liberal and ingenuous nature, who when he sees the statue of Jupiter at Pisa, or that of Juno at Argos, would desire to be Phidias or Polycletus; or who would wish to be Anacreon, Philemon, or Archilochus, because he has been delighted with their poems: for it is not necessary that we should love and esteem the artist, because we are pleased with the gracefulness and beauty of his work. Since therefore by objects of this kind no emulation is raised, nor any warm emotions urging to action and imitation, we may conclude that they are use-

\* Antisthenes was a disciple of Socrates, and founder of the sect of the Cynics.



less to the beholders. But such is the effect of virtuous actions, that we not only admire them, but long to copy the example. The goods of fortune we wish to enjoy, virtue we desire to practise; the former we are content to receive from others, the effects of the latter we are ambitious that others should receive from us. For it is the nature of virtue to draw us powerfully to itself, to kindle in us an active principle to form our manners and engage our affections, and this even in an historical description, and not only when it is represented before our eyes.

For this reason I have determined to proceed in writing the lives of eminent men; and have composed this tenth book, containing the life of Pericles, and of Fabius Maximus who carried on the war against Hannibal; men who resembled each other in many virtues, but especially in the mildness and integrity of their dispositions; and who, by bearing patiently the insolence and folly both of the common people and of their colleagues in the government, were eminently serviceable to their country. With what success I execute my design, must be left to the judgment of the reader.

Pericles was of the tribe of Acamantis, and of the ward of Cholargia. His family was one of the most considerable in Athens both on the father's and mother's side. His father Xanthippus, who defeated the king of Persia's generals at Mycale, married Agariste the niece of Clisthenes, who expelled the race of Pisistratus, abolished the tyranny, and settled such laws, and such a plan of government, as were excellently adapted for the security of the state, and for promoting concord and unanimity among the people.

Agariste dreamed that she was brought to bed of a lion, and in a few days after was delivered of Pericles. His body was well-formed, but his head was very long and disproportioned. For this reason

almost all the statues of him have the head covered with a helmet; the statuaries, probably, not being willing to expose his deformity. But the poets of Athens gave him the name of *Schinocephalus*, as having his head shaped like a squill or sea-onion, which in their dialect they sometimes call *Schinos*. Cratinus, the comic poet in his play called *Chironos* has this passage:

*Old Time and Faction gave the tyrant birth,  
Whom mortal men call Pericles \* on earth;  
Not thus distinguish'd in the courts of Jove,  
For Head-compeller is his name above.*

And in his play called *Nemesis*, [*The revenge*], he thus addresses him;

*Come hospitable blessed † Jove.*

Teleclides ridicules him in these lines;

*Perplex'd by business, by its weight deprest,  
Now his huge head hangs silent on his breast.  
Now from that head, in which ten men might dine,  
Loud thunders burst, of dreadful storms the sign.*

Eupolis, in his play called *Demi*, introduces an inquiry concerning all the demagogues or orators whom he represents as coming up from hell; and when Pericles appears last, he makes one of his characters cry out,

*Of all that dwell below here comes the head.*

Most writers say that he was instructed in music by Damon, (whose name, they tell us, should be

\* Pericles (as Plutarch afterwards mentions) was called *Olympius* or *Jupiter*. In allusion to this name he is here represented as the son of Saturn; and instead of *Nephelegeretes* or *Cloud-compeller*, a common epithet of Jupiter, he is called *Cephelegeretes*, or *Head-compeller*, as if his head was composed of an assemblage of a great number of heads.

† *Μακάριος*, or *blessed*, was also a common epithet of Jupiter; but here Cratinus alludes to the word *κεφαλή*, the head, and the augmentative particle *μεγαλ-*, thus making the word signify *great-headed*.

pronounced with the first syllable short); but Aristotle says that he studied music under Pythoclides. And it is probable, that Damon, who was an able politician, only assumed the character of a musician, that he might conceal his political talents from the people. He continually attended on Pericles, and was as assiduous in teaching him the science of government, as a master of the gymnastic art is in training and exercising his scholars. His disguise however proved ineffectual; for he was banished by the ostracism as a man of a factious turbulent spirit, and an enemy to the liberties of the people. Nor was he spared by the comic poets. Plato introduces a person speaking to him thus:

*First, answer, Chiron\*; for if fame says true,  
This tyrant Pericles was taught by you.*

Pericles was likewise a disciple of Zeno Eleates†, who in natural philosophy was a follower of Parmenides, and who practised a subtle method of disputation, by which he never failed to refute and confound his adversary. This account Timon the Phliasian gives of him in these verses.

*Great Zeno's force, which, never known to fail,  
Could on each side, if try'd on each, prevail.*

But the person who was most conversant with Pericles, and from whom chiefly he acquired that dig-

\* Chiron the Centaur was tutor to Hercules, Jason, Achilles, and some other heroes. The satire of this passage consists in the ambiguity of the word *Chiron*, which also signifies a *rogue*.

† This Zeno was of Elea a town in Italy, and a Phocian colony. He was a scholar of Parmenides, who likewise adopted him. Though by his profound learning he had acquired a great reputation, yet he became more illustrious by his courage and resolution; for he conspired against the tyrant of his country, who caused him to be pounded to death in a mortar; and by his death he accomplished what he had undertaken in his lifetime; for his fellow-citizens were thereby so far incensed, that they fell upon the tyrant and stoned him. We are not to confound this Zeno with him of Citium, who was founder of the sect of the Stoics; and was much later than the former.



nity which appeared in his whole address and deportment, and that strength and sublimity of sentiment which gave him such an ascendant over the minds of the people, was Anaxagoras the Clazomenian, whom his contemporaries called *Nous*, or *Intelligence*, either from admiration of his skill in philosophy and his deep insight into nature, or because he was the first that ascribed the order of the universe, not to chance or necessity, but to the operation and energy of a pure unmixed intelligence, distinguishing and separating the constituent principles of the various parts of nature, which before were mingled in one confused mass.

This philosopher Pericles held in the highest esteem; and being fully instructed by him in the sublimest sciences, acquired not only an elevation of mind, and loftiness of style free from all the affectation and buffoonery of the vulgar; but likewise an easy composed gait, a gravity of countenance seldom relaxed by laughter, a firm and even tone of voice, together with such a modesty and decency in his dress, that when he spoke in public even with the greatest vehemence, it was never put into disorder. These things and others of the like nature raised admiration in all who saw him.

Being once reviled and insulted in public for a whole day together by an impudent profligate fellow, he made no reply, but continued to dispatch some important business in which he was then employed. In the evening he retired, and went home with great composure, the other still following him, and loading him with the most abusive language. When he arrived at his house, it being then dark, he ordered one of his servants to take a light, and wait on the man home. The poet Ion, indeed, says that Pericles was haughty and insolent in his behaviour, and that the sense he had of his own dignity, produced in him an arrogant contempt of others; and he highly extols the civility, complaisance,

fance, and politeness of Cimon. But little regard is due to the judgment of a man who thinks that softness of manners, and the minute refinements of delicacy, are necessary to temper the majesty of virtue, just as the humour of satyrical scenes is to be blended with the solemnity of tragedy \*. When Zeno heard the gravity of Pericles represented as mere pride and ostentation, he advised those who censured it to assume the same sort of pride themselves; being of opinion that by counterfeiting what is excellent, a man may be insensibly led to love and practise it in reality.

But these were not the only advantages which Pericles reaped from the conversation of Anaxagoras. From him he learned to banish those superstitious fears which distress the minds of the vulgar, who are terrified when any extraordinary appearances are seen in the heavens, because they are unacquainted with the causes of them; and who, from their ignorance of religion and the nature of the gods, are upon such occasions tormented with the most extravagant and dismal apprehensions. For philosophy cures these disorders of the mind, and instead of the terrors and frenzy of superstition, produces a rational and cheerful piety.

It is said that the head of a ram with only one horn was once brought to Pericles from his country-seat. Lampo the diviner observing that the horn grew strong and firm out of the middle of the forehead, foretold, that as there were then two parties in the city, that of Thucydides and that of Pericles, the

\* Tragedy at first was only a song in honour of Bacchus, sung by a chorus of satyrs. Afterwards, when serious characters and events were made the subject of tragedy, the satyrs were still retained, and their licentious drollery was mixed with the grave and mournful scenes. Tragedies of this kind were called *satyrical*. And even when tragedy was more refined, the poets, in their public contentions, used, each of them, after exhibiting three or four serious tragedies, to conclude with a satyrical one. Of this sort is the *Cyclops* of Euripides, the only satyrical tragedy now remaining.

whole power would shortly centre in him on whose land the prodigy had happened. But Anaxagoras having opened the head, showed that the brain did not fill up the whole cavity, but that it had contracted itself into an oval form, and pointed directly to that part of the scull whence the horn took its rise. This solution procured Anaxagoras great honour from the spectators; but some time after, Lampro was no less honoured for his prediction, when the power of Thucydides was ruined, and the whole administration of the republic came into the hands of Pericles. But I see no reason why the philosopher and the soothsayer may not both be allowed to have been in the right; the one having discovered the cause, and the other the design of this phenomenon. For it was the business of the one to find in what manner and by what means this effect was produced; and the business of the other was to show what end it was designed to answer, and what events it portended. And those who maintain that no prodigy, when the cause of it is known, ought to be regarded as a prognostic, do not consider that if they reject such signs as are extraordinary and preternatural, they must also deny that common and artificial signs are of any use; for the clattering of brass plates\*, the light of beacons, the shadow upon a sun-dial, have all of them their proper natural causes, yet each has a peculiar signification besides. But perhaps this point might be more properly discussed elsewhere.

Pericles when young stood in great fear of the people, because in his countenance he was thought to resemble Pisistratus; and the old men were not a little alarmed when they discovered in him, the same sweetness of voice, and the same volubility of

\* The clattering of brass plates or quoits was sometimes a military signal among the Grecians. Among the Romans, it was a signal to call the wrestlers to their exercises.

speech.



Speech, which they remembered in the tyrant. And as he was besides of a noble and wealthy family, and had the friendship of the most considerable men in the state, he was afraid of being banished by the ostracism; he therefore abstained from all political business, but not from war, in which he showed great courage and intrepidity. But when Aristides was dead, Themistocles in exile, and Cimon for the most part employed in military expeditions at a distance from Greece, Pericles assumed a public character. He chose rather to solicit the favour of the multitude and the poor, than of the rich and the few; putting a constraint upon his natural temper which by no means inclined him to court popularity. But being apprehensive that he might fall under the suspicion of aiming at the supreme power, and observing that Cimon was attached to the party of the nobles, and was highly esteemed by men of the greatest eminence, he studied to ingratiate himself with the common people, as the most effectual means for his own security, and for strengthening his interest against Cimon. From this time he entirely changed his ordinary course of life; he was never seen in any street but that which led from the senate-house to the Forum; he declined all the invitations of his friends, and all social entertainments and recreations; so that, during the whole time of his administration, which was of long continuance, he never supped with any of his friends, except once at the marriage of his nephew Eurypotemus; and then he retired as soon as the libations were performed. For dignity is not easily preserved in the familiarity of conversation, nor a solemnity of character maintained amidst surrounding gaiety and cheerfulness. Real virtue indeed, the more it is seen is the more admired; and a truly good man can by no action appear so great in the eyes of strangers, as he appears in private life to those who daily converse with

with him. But Pericles chose not to cloy the people by being too lavish of his presence; he therefore appeared only by intervals; he did not speak upon every subject that occurred, nor constantly attend the public assemblies, but reserved himself, (as Critolaus says), like the Salaminian galley \*, for extraordinary occasions. Common business he transacted by means of his friends, and certain orators with whom he had an intimacy. Among these, they say, was Ephialtes, who destroyed the power of the Areopagites, and *so intoxicated the people*, according to Plato's expression, *with this full draught of liberty*, that from their impatience of restraint, and mad desire of conquest, they were compared by the comic writers to an unruly pampered steed,

*Who champs the bit, and bounds along the plain.*

Pericles made use of the doctrines of Anaxagoras, as an instrument to raise his style to a sublimity suitable to the greatness of his spirit and the dignity of his manner of life, rendering his eloquence more splendid and majestic by the rich tincture which it received from philosophy. For it was from the study of philosophy as well as from nature, that he acquired that elevation of thought, and that *all-commanding power* (as the divine Plato calls it) by which he was distinguished; and it was by applying his philosophy to the purposes of eloquence, that he gained so great a superiority over all the orators of his time. Upon this account, it is said, he obtained the surname of *Olympius*; but some are of opinion that it was on account of the public buildings and ornaments with which he embellished the city; and others say, that he was so called from the great authority he had in the republic, in affairs

\* This was a consecrated vessel, which the Athenians never made use of but on extraordinary occasions; as for instance, when they sent for any of their generals in order to call them to account for their behaviour.

both of peace and war. It is not improbable, indeed, that all these circumstances might concur in procuring him this splendid title. It appears, however, from the comedies of that age, in which there are many strokes of satire both serious and ludicrous upon Pericles, that the appellation was given him chiefly on account of his eloquence; for in them he is represented as thundering and lightening in his harangues, and as carrying a dreadful thunderbolt in his tongue. Thucydides the son of Milesias is said to have given a very pleasant description of the force of Pericles's eloquence. Being asked by Archidamus king of the Lacedæmonians, whether he or Pericles was the best wrestler; he answered, *When I have thrown him, he still gets the better of me; for he denies that he has had a fall, and persuades the spectators to believe him.*

Such was the solicitude of Pericles about his public orations, that before he addressed the people, he always offered up a prayer to the gods, that nothing might unawares escape him, unsuitable to the subject on which he was to speak\*. He left nothing behind him in writing except public decrees†; and only a few of his sayings are recorded; some of which are these. He said, *that the island of Ægina should not be suffered to remain as the eye-sore of the Piræus.* On another occasion he said, *that he already beheld war advancing with hasty strides from Peloponnesus.* Once as he was sailing from Athens upon some military expedition, Sophocles, who accompanied him, and was joined in the com-

\* This account is contrary to that which Suidas gives of him. He says, that Pericles was the first that wrote down his speeches before he delivered them in public; whereas the other orators spoke extempore. This prayer is proper only for a man who speaks without any preparation. Quintilian says the subject of his prayer was, that he might utter nothing disagreeable to the people.

† By this it appears that those speeches which went under his name, were not his; and Quintilian declares he found nothing in them answerable to the high reputation he had for eloquence, *lib. 3. c. 3.*



mand with him, happened to praise the beauty of a certain boy; Pericles replied, *It becomes a general, Sophocles, to have not only pure hands, but pure eyes.* Stefimbrotus has preserved the following passage from the oration which Pericles pronounced in honour of those who fell in battle at Samos. *These, said he, like all others who die for their country, are exalted to a participation of the divine nature, being, like the gods, seen only in the honours that are paid them, and in the blessings which they bestow.*

Thucydides represents the administration of Pericles as favouring aristocracy; and, according to him, though the government was called democratical, yet it was really in the hands of one man who had acquired the supreme authority. But many other writers censure him for his too great indulgence to the people; he being the first who corrupted them by dividing among them the conquered lands, and by distributing money to them for the public spectacles; the effect of which was, that from being sober and industrious they became dissolute and prodigal. Let us now inquire by what alteration of circumstances in the republic this difference in his conduct was occasioned.

We have already observed, that at first, in order to oppose the authority of Cimon, he endeavoured to ingratiate himself with the people. But finding that he was surpassed in popularity by his rival, whose wealth enabled him to relieve the poor, to entertain the indigent citizens daily at his house, to clothe such as were past their labour, and to throw open his inclosures that all might be at liberty to gather his fruit; he had recourse to the expedient of distributing the public treasure; \* which scheme,

\* Instead of *Ἰνθεῖν* some learned men are of opinion that we should read *Ὀινθεῖν*, and that Demonides was not of the island of Ios, but of Oia which was a ward or borough in Attica.

as Aristotle relates, was proposed to him by Demosthenides of Ios. Accordingly, by giving money among the people for the public spectacles, by increasing the fees for their attendance in courts of judicature \*, and by other donations, he soon established his interest with them. The power which he thus obtained he employed against the senate of Areopagus, of which he was not a member, having never had the fortune to be chosen *Archon*, *Thesmotheta*, king of the sacred rites, or *Polemarch* † : for these offices were anciently disposed of by lot; and only those who had been elected into them, and had discharged them well, were admitted among the Areopagites. Pericles by these methods got so strong a party on his side, that he was enabled to overpower this senate; and by the assistance of Ephialtes he deprived them of the cognisance of most of the causes which before came under their jurisdiction. He also procured Cimon to be banished by the ostracism, as a favourer of the Lacedæmonians, and an enemy to the people; although he was inferior to none in wealth or family, had obtained many signal victories over the Barbarians, and, by the treasure and spoils which he took from them, had greatly enriched the city; as we have related in his life. Such was the authority of Pericles with the common people.

The term of Cimon's banishment, as it was by ostracism, was limited by law to ten years. During this interval, the Lacedæmonians made an incursion with a considerable army into the territory of Tanagra. As soon as the Athenians marched to oppose them, Cimon came and joined the army, taking his rank among those of his own tribe; for

\* There were several courts of judicature in Athens, composed of a certain number of the people, who were paid for their attendance. Sometimes they each of them received one obolus for every cause which they decided; sometimes men who aimed at popularity procured this fee to be increased.

† Some account of these offices is given in the life of Solon.

he hoped, that, by sharing the danger of his countrymen, his actions would clear him from the aspersion of being a friend to the Lacedæmonians. But the friends of Pericles joining together obliged him to retire, as being an exile. This seems to have been the cause that Pericles exerted such uncommon bravery in this engagement, and signalized himself for his intrepidity beyond all others. The friends of Cimon, who had been accused with him by Pericles of favouring the Lacedæmonians, all fell in this battle without exception\*. The Athenians now repented of their behaviour to Cimon, and regretted his absence, having been defeated upon the borders of Attica, and expecting a more formidable attack the next spring. Pericles, as soon as he perceived the disposition of the people, without hesitation complied with their desire, and proposed a decree himself for recalling Cimon; who upon his return immediately concluded a peace between the two states. For the Lacedæmonians loved Cimon as much as they hated Pericles and the rest of the orators. Some authors, however, say that before Pericles proposed the decree for recalling Cimon, he made a private compact with him by the mediation of Elpinice, Cimon's sister, the terms of which were, that Cimon should sail with a fleet of two hundred ships, and have the command of the forces abroad, with which he was to ravage the territories of the king of Persia; and that Pericles should govern at home. Elpinice is said to have been instrumental in rendering Pericles more favourable to Cimon in a former instance, when he was under a capital prosecution, and Pericles was appointed by the people to be one of his accusers. When Elpinice came to him to make her request in behalf of her brother, he replied with a smile, *You are too old, Elpinice, you are too old*

\* See the life of Cimon.



*to manage such affairs as these.* At the trial, however, he executed his office of accuser in a slight manner, rose up to speak but once, and of all the accusers showed the least severity against Cimon \*. What credit then can be given to Idomeneus †, who charges Pericles with having treacherously murdered the orator Ephialtes, out of jealousy and envy of his reputation, though he was his intimate friend, and the partner of his counsels in political affairs? This calumny, wheresoever he found it, has he vented with great bitterness against a man, who, though perhaps he was not in all respects unblameable, yet certainly had such a greatness of mind and high sense of honour as was incompatible with an action so savage and inhuman. The truth is, as we are informed by Aristotle, that Ephialtes being grown formidable to the nobles and their party, and being severe and inexorable in prosecuting all who had wronged and oppressed the common people, his enemies formed a design against his life, and employed Aristodicus of Tanagra to assassinate him privately. As for Cimon, he died in the expedition to Cyprus.

The nobles observing how greatly the authority of Pericles was increased, and that he was now the chief man in the state, were desirous that he should have some opponent to his administration, who might give a check to his power, and prevent the government from becoming entirely monarchical. The person fixed upon by them for this purpose, was Thucydides of the ward of Alopece, a man of great prudence and moderation, and brother-in-law to Cimon. He was, indeed, inferior to Cimon in military excellence, but he surpassed him in his forensic and political talents; and by constantly

\* Cimon however was fined fifty talents, and narrowly escaped a capital sentence, having only a majority of three votes in his favour.

† Idomeneus of Lampsacus, a disciple of Epicurus. He wrote an account of Socrates's scholars, and an history of Samothracia.

attending in the city, and opposing Pericles in the public assemblies, he soon reduced the government to an equilibrium: for he no longer suffered those of superior rank to mingle with the commonalty, as they used to do before, by which they in great measure lost their distinction; but by separating them from the populace, and by uniting the power of them all into one sum, he produced a force sufficient to counterbalance the power of the opposite faction. There was, indeed, from the beginning a kind of doubtful separation, like a flaw in a piece of iron, which seemed to denote that the popular party and the aristocratical were not perfectly one, though they were not perfectly divided. But by the contention and ambition of Pericles and Thucydides, the city was quite broken in two, and one of the parts was called the *People*, the other the *Nobility*. Pericles after this, more than ever, gave the reins to the people, and employed his whole power in gratifying them, contriving perpetually to entertain them with some splendid public spectacle, festival, or procession; and while he indulged them with these elegant amusements, he managed them at his pleasure; besides this, he sent out every year sixty galleys, which were manned by a considerable number of the citizens; they were employed in this service for eight months\*, and while they received their pay, at the same time improved themselves in the art of navigation. He also sent a colony of a thousand inhabitants to Chersonesus, five hundred to Naxos, half that number to Andros, a thousand among the Bisaltæ in Thrace, and a thousand into Italy when the city of Sybaris (which they called *Thurii*) was built. His design in this was to rid the city of a multitude of idle people, who merely from their idleness became turbulent and seditious, to alleviate the necessities of

\* Some instead of *μῆνας* read *μῶνας*; and according to this reading the passage must be translated, *their pay was eight minæ*.

the commonalty, and to prevent the defection of their allies, these new inhabitants being a kind of garrison which kept them in awe, and secured their fidelity.

But that which was the chief delight and ornament of Athens, and the wonder of strangers, was the magnificence of the temples and public buildings that he erected, which are of themselves a sufficient proof that those accounts are not fabulous which are given of the wealth and power of ancient Greece. Yet no part of the public conduct of Pericles was censured by his enemies with more vehemence and malignity than this. They continually exclaimed in the public assemblies, *That he had brought a disgrace and reproach upon the people of Athens, by removing from Delos the public treasure of Greece, and taking it into his own custody; that he had cut off the only plausible pretence for such an action, which was, that the treasure being before in danger from the Barbarians, it was necessary to lodge it in some place of safety; that all the states of Greece must think themselves shamefully wronged and insulted, when they saw the money which they had contributed towards the necessary expenses of the war, employed by the Athenians only in decorating their city like a vain fantastic woman, and adorning it with statues, and temples which cost a thousand talents* \*. Pericles, on the other hand, represented to the people, *that while they kept the Barbarians at a distance, and defended their allies, they were not accountable to them for the sums which they had received, since the allies had not furnished either horses, ships, or men, but only money, which is no longer the property of the giver, but of the receiver, provided he performs the conditions on which it was paid; that the city being well supplied with every thing necessary for supporting the war, the superfluity of their treasure should be spent on such works, as, when finished, would be an eternal monument of their glory, and*

\* The Parthenon, or temple of Minerva, is said to have cost a thousand talents.

during



during the execution of them would diffuse riches and plenty among the people; for so many kinds of labour, and such a variety of instruments and materials being requisite in these undertakings, every art would be exerted, and every hand employed, every citizen would be in the pay of the state, and the city would be not only beautified, but maintained by itself. For as those who were of proper age and strength to bear arms, were paid by the public as soldiers, he was unwilling that those who followed more servile occupations, and were not enlisted in the army, should be excluded from their share of profit, or receive it while they remained idle and inactive. He therefore employed the common people in great and magnificent works, to accomplish which, a great variety of artificers, and a considerable length of time was necessary; and thus all who remained at home, had an equal claim to be benefited by the public money, with those who were in service abroad, either at sea, in garrison, or in the army. For the different materials, such as stone, brass, ivory, gold, ebony, and cypress, furnished employment to carpenters, masons, brasiers, goldsmiths, turners, and other artificers, who manufactured them; the conveyance of them by sea employed merchants and sailors, and by land wheelwrights, ropemakers, carriers, and other labourers; and every art occupied a number of the lower people ranged in a due subordination, who, like soldiers under the command of a general, executed the service that was assigned them; so that, by the exercise of these different arts, plenty was diffused among persons of every rank and condition. Notwithstanding the astonishing magnitude of these structures, and the inimitable beauty and perfection of the workmanship, every artificer being ambitious, that the elegance of the execution might surpass even the magnificence of the design; yet the speed with which they were accomplished was still more wonderful. For all those works, each of which

which seemed to require the labour of successive generations, were finished not in one age only, but during the prime of one administration. It is said, that Zeuxis, when he heard Agatharchus boast that he finished his pictures in a short time, replied, *Mine cost me a great deal of time.* For such works as are hastily performed, have rarely a permanent strength or consummate beauty. But labour is a kind of loan to time, which is repaid by the durability of that which it produces. For this reason, the structures which Pericles raised are the more admirable, that being completed in so short a time, they yet had such a lasting beauty; for as they had, when they were new, the venerable aspect of antiquity, so, now they are old, they have the freshness of a modern work. They seem to be preserved from the injuries of time by a kind of vital principle, which produces a vigour that cannot be impaired, and a bloom that will never fade.

Pericles committed the direction and superintendence of these public edifices to Phidias: though many other considerable architects were likewise employed in erecting them. The Parthenon, or temple of Minerva \*, was built by Callicrates and Ictinus. Corcebus began the temple of initiation at Eleusis, but died as soon as he had finished the lower rank of columns with their architraves. Metagenes of Xypete added the rest of the entablature and the upper row of columns, and Xenocles of Cholargus built the dome on the top. The long wall, the building of which Socrates says he heard Pericles recommend to the people, was undertaken by Callicrates. Cratinus ridicules this work as proceeding very slowly, in these lines:

*To build the wall with words he often tries;*

*If hands must raise it, it will never rise.*

\* This temple was also called *Hecatompedon*, because originally it was an hundred feet square. But it having been destroyed by the Persians, Pericles rebuilt it in a different form, and greatly enlarged it.

The

The Odeum or music-theatre, which was likewise built by the direction of Pericles, had within it a great number of seats and rows of pillars; the roof was of a conical figure, in imitation, as it is said, of the king of Persia's pavilion. Cratinus takes occasion from this likewise to ridicule him in his play called *Thrattæ*.

*Here comes our Jove, escap'd an exile's doom;  
And on his head behold the music-room!*

Pericles at this time was very eager to pass a decree for appointing a prize-contention in music during the festival of the Panathenæa; and as he was nominated for judge and distributor of the prizes, he gave direction in what manner the contending artists should exhibit their performances, whether they sung or played on the flute or on the lyre. From that time the prizes in music were always contended for in the Odeum. The porch of the citadel was built in five years by Mnescicles, the architect. An extraordinary accident which happened during the progress of this building, manifestly showed that the goddesses did not disapprove of the work, but assisted to advance and complete it. For the most active and dexterous of the workmen, by falling from a great height, was bruised in such a manner that his life was despaired of by the physicians. Pericles being extremely concerned at this misfortune, the goddesses appeared to him in a dream, and prescribed a remedy, by the application of which the man soon recovered. In memory of this event he placed in the citadel near the altar, (which is said to have been built before), a brazen statue of Minerva the goddess of health. The golden statue of Minerva \* was the work of Phidias, whose name is inscribed

\* This statue was of gold and ivory; and we find a description of it in Pausanias. The goddess was represented standing, clothed in a tunic, that reached down to her feet. On her breast-plate was engraved Medusa's



inscribed on the pedestal. He, as we have said before, had, through the friendship of Pericles, the care of almost all these public works, and superintended the workmen. This not only exposed him to envy, but occasioned scandalous reports concerning Pericles; who was accused of visiting, at the house of Phidias, many women of reputable families, who came thither under pretence of seeing the statues. The comic poets did not fail to improve this slander, and to represent him as a man infamous for his debaucheries. They accused him of a criminal familiarity with the wife of Menippus, who was his friend and lieutenant in the army. And because Pyrilampes, who was likewise his intimate friend, kept a great number of peacocks and other curious birds, it was supposed that he did this only for the sake of making presents of them to those women who had granted favours to Pericles. But can we wonder that men whose profession is that of ridicule and buffoonery, should sacrifice the characters of the great and good to the envy of the multitude, as if they were making an oblation to some malevolent dæmon; when even Stefimbrotus the Thasian has dared to charge Pericles with so strange and incredible a wickedness as an incestuous commerce with the wife of his own son? Thus difficult is it to discover truth by history; since those writers who live after the events which they relate, must, on account of the distance of time, be imperfectly acquainted with them; and those who are witnesses of them, are strongly tempted by envy and hatred, or by interest and friendship, to vitiate and pervert the truth.

Medusa's head in ivory, and Victory. She held a pike in her hand, and at her feet lay her buckler, and a dragon supposed to be Erichthonius. The Sphinx was represented on the middle of her head-piece, with two griffins on the sides. This statue was thirty-nine feet high; the Victory on the breast-plate was about four cubits; and forty talents of gold were employed upon it.

As

As the orators of Thucydides's party continually exclaimed against Pericles, for having squandered the public revenues, he one day asked the people in full assembly, *whether they thought his expenses had been too great?* They replied, *Much too great.* Then, said he, *the expense shall not be yours, but mine; and I will have my name inscribed on all these buildings* \*. The people, upon this, either admiring the greatness of his spirit, or envying him the glory of such magnificent works, cried out, *that he might spend as much as he pleased without sparing the public treasure.*

Thucydides and Pericles at last came to such an open rupture, that it became necessary for the one or the other to be banished by the ostracism. Pericles gained the victory, banished Thucydides, and entirely defeated his party. This contest being at an end, and the people no longer divided into two factions, Pericles became sole master of Athens; and all the affairs of the Athenians were at his disposal; their revenues, their armies, their fleets, the islands, the sea, and the power which accrued to them from other states, whether Greek or Barbarian, from those nations which were in subjection to them, or from those which were in friendship and alliance with them.

From this time he became a different person. He was no longer so obsequious to the people, nor so ready to comply with all their wild and capricious desires. The government was no longer administered by courting popular favour and indulging the passions of the multitude, but was changed into an aristocratical, or rather a monarchical form; thus he confined by stricter measures, the former

\* It appears from a passage in Thucydides, that the public stock of the Athenians amounted to nine thousand seven hundred talents, of which Pericles had laid out in those public buildings three thousand seven hundred. How then could he tell the people that it should be at his own expense; especially since Plutarch tells us in the sequel, that he had not in the least improved the estate left him by his father?

loose and luxuriant harmony of the state; and by an unblameable conduct and a steady pursuit of the public good, he obtained an absolute authority over the people, whom for the most part he influenced by argument and persuasion, though sometimes he directly thwarted their inclinations, and obliged them by force to pursue such measures as were most conducive to their welfare. His conduct towards the people was like that of a physician in the cure of a long and irregular distemper, who sometimes indulges his patient in the moderate use of such things as are pleasant, and at other times prescribes such sharp and violent medicines as are most efficacious and salutary. He alone had the art of controlling those various passions and disorders which must necessarily spring up in a people whose dominion was so extensive. Hope and fear were the two engines by which he governed and directed the multitude; by these he checked them when they were too eager and impetuous, and animated them when timorous and desponding. From this example it appears that rhetoric is in reality what Plato calls it, *The art of ruling the minds of men*; and that the principal object of it is to manage the affections and passions, which are to the soul what the strings are to a musical instrument, and which will always obey the will of the artist, when touched with delicacy and skill. The influence which Pericles acquired, was not, however, to be ascribed merely to his eloquence, but likewise, as Thucydides says, to his unblemished integrity and his contempt of riches, which procured him universal esteem and veneration. For though he had rendered that great city still more great and opulent, though his power exceeded that of many kings and tyrants, some of whom have bequeathed to their children the sovereignty which they had obtained; yet he never made the least addition to his paternal estate.

Thucydides gives a full and just account of the



power and authority of Pericles; but the comic poets speak on this subject with their usual malignity, calling his friends and adherents, *the new Pisistratidæ*, representing his authority as excessive and insupportable, and disproportioned to a popular state, and requiring of him to disclaim by oath all intentions of assuming a tyrannical power. Teleclides says that the Athenians gave into his hands

*Each town's whole tribute, and each town besides,  
Which bound or free, as he ordains, abides;  
The bulwark, which he bids to rise or fall;  
The strength, the treasure, happiness and all.*

Nor was this power of his a mere transitory thing, which like a blossom flourished only during the spring of his administration; he for forty years together held the pre-eminence, and that among such men as Ephialtes, Leocrates, Myronides, Cimon, Tolmidas, Thucydides; and after the ruin and banishment of Thucydides, continued it still for no less than fifteen years. And though his authority was unlimited, and the power of the several annual magistrates united in him, yet he kept himself always untainted by avarice. Not that he was careless of his fortune; for he was equally solicitous that his paternal estate should not be diminished by negligence, and that the care of it should not ingross too much of his time and attention. His method of managing it was therefore such as appeared to him most easy and most exact. The yearly produce of his lands he sold all at once, and from day to day bought in the market the necessities for his family. But his sons, when they grew up, and the women who lived with him, were not at all pleased with this parsimonious economy; they complained of their scanty allowance, and this minute calculation of the daily expenses. For there was none of that waste and superfluity which is common in great houses and wealthy families; the income

come and the expence being accurately adjusted to each other. The person who assisted him to manage his affairs with this exactness and regularity was Evangelus one of his servants, a man who, either by his natural qualifications or by the instructions of Pericles, was peculiarly fitted for such an employment. This conduct indeed was very unlike that of Anaxagoras, who, through a philosophical enthusiasm and contempt of wealth, quitted his house, and left his lands uncultivated. But I think there is a wide difference between the life of a speculative and of an active philosopher. The former is employed in contemplations purely intellectual, and independent on every thing material and external; the latter applies his virtue to the service of society, and the business of human life; to him, therefore, riches may not only be necessary, but they may be ranked even among those things which we call honourable and good. Thus it was with Pericles, who was enabled by his riches to relieve many of the poor citizens. And yet it is said, that, in the multiplicity of public business, he had forgotten and neglected even Anaxagoras himself, who, finding that he was thus deserted in his old age, covered up his head \*, and lay down with an intention to starve himself to death. Pericles hearing this, ran immediately to him with great emotion, and earnestly entreated him to change his resolution, no so much for his own sake, as that he himself might not be deprived of so faithful and able a counsellor. Anaxagoras uncovering his face, replied, *Ah Pericles! those who have need of a lamp take care to supply it with oil.*

When the Lacedæmonians began to discover a

\* It was customary for a person who was determined to put an end to his life, to cover up his head. Livy mentions this as part of the ceremony performed by the Decii when they solemnly devoted themselves to death. Thus Horace says;

*Nam male re gesta, cum vellem mittere operto*

*Me capite in flumen* ——— Lib. ii. sat. 8.

jealousy of the growing power of the Athenians, Pericles, that he might yet more elevate the spirit of the people, and give them a still higher opinion of their own power and dignity, proposed a decree, that a council should be held at Athens, consisting of deputies from every Grecian city, great and small, whether in Europe or in Asia, to debate concerning the temples which had been burnt by the Barbarians, concerning the sacrifices which they had vowed to the gods when they fought for the safety of Greece, and likewise concerning the measures that were to be taken with regard to their naval affairs, that navigation might be every where secure, and peace maintained amongst them all. Twenty men of above fifty years of age were sent with this proposal to the different states of Greece. Five of them went to the Ionians and Dorians who lived in Asia, and to the inhabitants of the islands as far as Lesbos and Rhodes; five to those who lived about the Hellespont and in Thrace as far as Byzantium; five to the inhabitants of Bœotia, Phocis, and Peloponnesus, and thence through Locris to the adjoining continent as far as Acarnania and Ambracia. The rest went to the Eubœans, Oetæans, Malienses, Phthiotæ, Achæans \*, and Thessalians, inviting them to join in the consultation, and to unite their endeavours to promote the general peace and welfare of Greece. Their solicitations were, however, ineffectual, and there was no council held; the reason of which is said to be the opposition of the Lacedæmonians, for it was in Peloponnesus that the proposal was first rejected. I have just mentioned this fact as a proof of his high spirit, and his disposition to form great and magnificent projects.

\* Achæa is sometimes used for Greece in general; sometimes it signifies a particular district in Peloponnesus; but neither of these can be the meaning in this place. We must here understand a people of Thessaly called *Achæans*. *Vid. Steph. Byz. in voce Θεσσαλι*.



As a military commander, his chief excellence was prudence and caution; he never willingly came to an engagement, when the danger was considerable and the success very uncertain; nor did he envy the glory or imitate the conduct of those generals, who are admired and applauded because their rash enterprises have been attended with success. He often said to the citizens, *That, as far as it depended upon him, they should be all immortal.* When Tolmidas, the son of Tolmæus, elated with his former successes, and the reputation he had acquired in war, was preparing very unseasonably to make an incursion into Boeotia, and besides his other forces had collected a thousand of the best and bravest of the youth whom he had persuaded to enlist as volunteers, Pericles used his utmost endeavours to divert him from the attempt, and said to him in the public assembly those well-known words, *If you do not regard the advice of Pericles, at least wait till time shall advise you; who is the best of all counsellors.* This saying was not highly applauded then; but a few days after, when news was brought that the Athenians were defeated at Coronea, and that Tolmidas was killed together with many of the bravest citizens, it procured Pericles great respect and love from the people, who considered it as a proof not only of his sagacity, but also of his affection to his countrymen.

Of his military expeditions, that to the Chersonesus was most applauded, because it contributed so much to the safety of the Greeks who lived there. For he not only strengthened their cities by a colony of a thousand Athenians; but by raising fortifications across the isthmus from sea to sea, he secured them from the incursions of the Thracians who surrounded them, and delivered them from a grievous and oppressive war in which they had been continually engaged before, with the neighbouring nations of the Barbarians, and numerous bands of rob-

bers who lived on the borders, or were inhabitants of the country. He likewise acquired great reputation among strangers by the voyage which he made round Peloponnesus with a fleet of an hundred ships, with which he set sail from Pegæ a port of Megaris. For he not only ravaged the towns upon the sea-coast, but landing with the soldiers whom he had on board, he advanced far into the country, and obliged most of the inhabitants through fear to shelter themselves within their walls; and at Nemea entirely routed the Sicyonians, who stood their ground and came to an engagement with him. Having erected a trophy of this victory, and put on board his fleet some soldiers that were furnished him by the Achæans, who were allies of the Athenians, he sailed to the opposite continent, and passing by the mouth of the Achelôis, he made a descent in Acarnania, shut up the Oeneadæ within their walls, and having laid waste the country returned home. By this expedition he rendered himself formidable to the enemy, and gave his fellow-citizens a proof both of his resolution and prudence; for no miscarriage was committed, nor did even any unfortunate accident happen during the whole time.

He sailed to Pontus with a fleet that was very numerous and well equipped; he treated the Grecian cities there with great kindness, and granted them every thing that they demanded. Beside this, by sailing where-ever he pleased, and maintaining the dominion of the sea, he taught the Barbarians of those countries, together with their kings and governors, to respect both the power and the courage of the Athenians. He left thirteen ships under the command of Lamachus and a number of soldiers with the inhabitants of Sinope, to enable them to oppose the tyrant Timesilaus; and after the tyrant and his party were expelled, he caused a decree to pass, that six hundred volunteers should be sent from Athens to Sinope, and that the houses and  
lands

lands which had formerly belonged to the tyrants, should be distributed among them. He was, however, far from countenancing all the wild and extravagant projects of the people; nor would he indulge them, when, elated with their power and successes, they were desirous to attempt the recovery of Egypt \*, and to invade the maritime provinces of the king of Persia. Many of them were at this time possessed with that unfortunate and fatal passion for Sicily, which was afterwards more inflamed by the orators of Alcibiades's party. Some of them dreamed of the conquest of Hetruria and Carthage †, which they thought was no vain and impracticable enterprize, considering the great extent of their dominions and the prosperous course of their affairs.

But Pericles checked this eager, restless, and ambitious spirit; and employed the greatest part of their strength in securing what they had already acquired; for he thought it no inconsiderable thing to restrain the power of the Lacedæmonians, against whom he had a particular enmity, which appeared on many occasions, and especially in the sacred war. For the Phocians having taken possession of the temple at Delphi, the Lacedæmonians sending an army thither restored it to the inhabitants; but Pericles, immediately after the departure of the Lacedæmonians, marched thither with another army, and again put it into the hands of the Phocians. And as the Lacedæmonians had engraved upon the forehead of the brazen wolf ‡, the

\* For the Athenians had been masters of Egypt, as we read in the 2d book of Thucydides. They were driven out of it by Megabyfus, Artaxerxes's lieutenant, in the first year of the 80th Olympiad.

† It is not easy to conceive why Hetruria should be joined with Carthage. In the life of Alcibiades it is said, that *he dreamed of the conquest of Carthage and Lybia.*

‡ This wolf is said to have been consecrated by the Delphians, and placed by the side of the great altar, upon the following occasion. A thief having one day robbed the temple, went and hid himself with his



the privilege which the people of Delphi had granted them of first consulting the oracle; Pericles obtained the same privilege for the Athenians, and engraved it on the right side of the same image.

The event soon proved, with how much prudence he had confined the force of the Athenians within the limits of Greece. For first of all, the Eubœans revolted, and he transported an army into their island in order to reduce them. Immediately after this, news was brought that the Megarenfians were in arms, and that the Lacedæmonians were advanced to the borders of Attica, under the conduct of Plistonax their king \*. He therefore instantly returned from Eubœa, to manage the war at home. The enemy offered him battle; he would not, however, venture to engage an army so numerous and resolute. But finding that Plistonax was very young, and that he was chiefly guided by the advice of Cleandrides, whom the Ephori had appointed as a director and assistant to the king on account of his youth, he made application privately to this man, and soon prevailed on him by money to withdraw the Peloponnesians from Attica. The army having retired, and being dispersed through the several cities, the Lacedæmonians were highly incensed, and imposed such a fine upon the king, that, not being able to pay it, he was forced to leave the country. Cleandrides fled, but sentence of death was passed upon him. Gylippus, who defeated the Athenians in Sicily, was his son; he was

his booty in the thickest part of the forest of Mount Parnassus, where a wolf fell upon him and killed him; after which he went every day into the city, where he terrified the inhabitants with his frightful howlings. The Delphians imagining that these regular returns must be owing to some supernatural cause, followed the wolf, who conducted them to the place where the carcase lay, near which they likewise found the treasure belonging to the temple; and in memory of the miracle they consecrated the wolf of brass mentioned here by Plutarch.

\* Thucydides places this expedition fourteen years before the first Peloponnesian war, of which mention will be made hereafter. It happened therefore in the 2d year of the 83d Olympiad.

likewise

likewise infected with the same vice of avarice, which he seemed to have derived like a natural and hereditary distemper from his father; and on account of those criminal practices to which this disposition prompted him, he was banished with ignominy from Sparta, as we have already related in the life of Lyfander.

Pericles in his account of the expenses of this expedition had set down one article of ten talents *for a necessary purpose*; this the people allowed to pass without examination, and without inquiring into the mystery. But some writers, among whom is Theophrastus the philosopher, say that Pericles used to send annually ten talents to Sparta, by which he gained the men in power, and prevailed on them to defer all acts of hostility; not that he intended hereby to purchase peace, but only to gain time, that he might have leisure to make preparations for carrying on the war afterwards with greater advantage.

Immediately after the retreat of the Lacedæmonians, Pericles turned his arms against the revolters; and passing over into Eubœa with fifty ships, and five thousand soldiers, he reduced all the cities there. He expelled the Hippobotæ, who were the principal men for wealth and authority among the Chalcidenses, and drove the inhabitants of Hestîæa out of the country, supplying their place with Athenians. The cause of this severity was, that they having taken an Athenian ship, had murdered the whole crew.

Soon after this, a truce being made for thirty years between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, he procured a decree to be passed for an expedition against Samos; the ground of which was, that the Samians had refused to obey the orders which they had received from the Athenians, to make peace with the Milesians. It having been thought that Pericles engaged in this war merely to gratify

Aspasia,

Aspasia, it may not be improper in this place to give some account of this woman, and to consider what were those arts, and those powers of allurements, by which she captivated the greatest men of the state, and procured such frequent yet not dishonourable mention to be made of her even by philosophers. It is agreed by all that she was by birth a Milesian, and the daughter of Axiochus. It is said that she imitated the conduct of Thargelia a courtesan who was descended from the ancient Ionians \*, and that from her example she learned to court the friendship only of the most powerful men in the republic. This Thargelia was a woman of remarkable beauty, and of great understanding and wit; she had many lovers among the Greeks, all of whom she brought over to the King of Persia's interest; and as they were men of the greatest eminence and authority, the seeds of the Median faction were by their means sown in many cities of Greece. Some say that Pericles visited Aspasia only on account of her extraordinary wisdom, and her skill in political affairs. For even Socrates frequently went with some of his friends to see her; and those who were intimately acquainted with her, used to carry their wives to hear her conversation, though her occupation was not a decent and reputable one; for she kept a number of loose women in her house. Æschines says, that Lycicles †, who was a grazier, and naturally

\* That is, from the colony sent to inhabit that part of Asia Minor, which was afterwards called *Ionia*, from that Ionic migration. This Thargelia was so fine a woman, that by means of her beauty she obtained the sovereignty in Thessaly. However she came to an untimely end, for she was murdered by one of her lovers.

† I know of but two of that name, who made any considerable figure among the Athenians. The first was sent with twelve vessels under his command to levy the money that was necessary to carry on the siege of Mitylene, and was slain by the Carians in that expedition. But that could not be the Lycicles meant here by Plutarch; for he was slain the year after Pericles's death, too short a time for him to frame a correspondence with Aspasia so as to make himself considerable thereby.



naturally of a low grovelling disposition, by conversing with Aspasia after the death of Pericles, became the most considerable man in Athens. And it appears from the Menexenus of Plato, that many of the Athenians resorted to her for the sake of improving themselves in the art of speaking, in which she was consummately skilled; for though the beginning of that dialogue is written in a ludicrous manner, yet this circumstance is historically true. But the attachment of Pericles to her, is most probably to be ascribed to an amorous motive. His first wife was his relation; the rich Callias was her son by Hipponicus a former husband; she likewise had two sons by Pericles, Xanthippus and Paralus; but growing disagreeable to each other, they parted by consent; he disposed of her to another husband, and himself married Aspasia, whom he loved so affectionately, that when he went from his house to the Forum, and when he returned home, he constantly saluted her with great tenderness. In the comedies she is called a second *Omphale*, sometimes *Deianira* and sometimes *Juno*. Cratinus plainly calls her a whore in these verses:

*She, this Aspasia, this our Juno, bore,  
A shameless, loveless, odious, filthy whore.*

It is probable that he had a natural son by her; for Eupolis, in his play called *Demi*, introduces Pericles asking this question,

*Tell me; still lives my bastard?*

To which Pyronides replies:

thereby. The second was put to death by the Athenians for his misconduct in the battle of Chæroneæ, which happened in the third year of the 110th Olympiad, more than ninety years after the death of Pericles. And if this was the Lysicles here mentioned, Aspasia must have survived Pericles a long time indeed. I do not remember that he is mentioned in any of the three orations that remain of Æschines.

*Still*

*Still he lives :*

*And longs to prove the joys which wedlock gives ;  
But in a wife, alas ! he fears to find  
As rank a whore as fate to thee has join'd.*

Such was the fame of *Aspasia*, that Cyrus who contended with Artaxerxes for the kingdom of Persia, is said to have given the name of Aspasia to his favourite concubine, who was before called *Milto*. This woman was born in Phocis, and was the daughter of Hermotimus ; when Cyrus was killed in battle, she was carried to the king, and had afterwards great influence with him. As these particulars occurred to my memory while I was writing this history, I thought I should be too morose if I omitted to mention them.

Pericles, as we have said, was accused of having at Aspasia's request prevailed on the people to take up arms against the Samians, and in defence of the Milesians. These two states had been at war for the city of Priene ; and the advantage being on the side of the Samians, they were ordered by the Athenians to lay down their arms, and to come and plead their cause before them. Upon their refusal to comply with this demand, Pericles sailed with a fleet to Samos, and abolished the oligarchical form of government. He then took fifty of the principal men, and the same number of children as hostages, whom he sent to Lemnos. It is said, that each of the hostages offered him a talent for his ransom, and that many other presents were likewise offered him by such of the inhabitants as were enemies to a popular government. Pissuthnes the Persian, who was a friend to the Samians \*, also sent him ten thousand pieces of gold, in order to

\* Pissuthnes the son of Hissaspes was governor of Sardis. The reason which induced him to favour the Samians, was because they who had the greatest authority among them were in the interest of the Persians.

mitigate his severity towards them. But Pericles would not receive any of these presents, nor treat the Samians otherwise than he at first determined; and when he had established a democracy among them, he returned to Athens \*. Upon his departure, however, they immediately revolted, having privately recovered their hostages by the assistance of Pissuthnes. They made every necessary preparation for carrying on the war; and when Pericles came the second time with a fleet, in order to reduce them, he found them not in a negligent or desponding posture, but firmly resolved to contend with him for the dominion of the sea. A sharp engagement ensued near the island Tragia; and Pericles obtained a glorious victory, having with forty-four ships defeated seventy, twenty of which had soldiers on board. Pursuing his victory he made himself master of the harbour of Samos, and laid siege to the city. The Samians still bravely defended themselves, and made vigorous sallies upon the enemy. But when another more considerable fleet arrived from Athens, and they were entirely blocked up, Pericles, taking with him sixty ships, sailed into the open sea, with a design, as it is generally said, to meet a Phœnician fleet that was coming to the relief of the Samians, and to engage with it at a distance from the island. Stefinbrotus indeed says that he intended to sail to Cyprus, which is very improbable. But whatever his design was, he seems to have been guilty of an error. For as soon as he was gone, Melissus the son of Ithagene, a man of great reputation as a philosopher, and at that time commander of the Samians, despising the small fleet which he left behind him, and the unskilfulness of the commanders of it, persuaded the citizens to make an attack upon the Athenians. The Samians were victorious in this engagement, took

\* Plutarch has omitted to mention that he left a garrison in Samos.



many prisoners, destroyed a considerable number of ships, became masters of the sea, and furnished themselves with all things they wanted necessary to support the war. Aristotle says that Pericles himself before this time had been defeated by Melissus in a sea-fight. The Samians branded the Athenian prisoners in the forehead with the figure of an owl \*, in return for the insult which they had received from the Athenians, who had branded them with the figure of a Samæna, which is a kind of ship built low in the forepart, and wide and hollow in the sides, which form renders it very light and expeditious in sailing; it was called *Samæna*, because it was first invented at Samos by the tyrant Polycrates. Aristophanes is supposed to allude to these marks in the following line:

*This Samians are, we know, a letter'd race.*

Pericles being informed of the misfortune that had befallen his army, came in all haste to its relief; and having defeated Melissus in a pitched battle, and put the Samians to flight, he blocked them up by building a wall round the city, chusing rather to gain the conquest at some expense of time and money, than by the wounds and danger of his countrymen. But when the Athenians were tired with the length of the siege, and were so eager to fight that it was difficult to restrain them, he divided his whole army into eight parts, which he ordered to draw lots; and that part which drew a white bean was permitted to spend the day in ease and pleasure, while the others were employed in fighting. And hence it is said, a day spent in feasting and merriment is called a *white day*, in allusion to this white bean.

Ephorus relates, that Pericles in this siege made use of battering engines, with the contrivance of

\* We meet with no mention of these reciprocal barbarities in Thucydides.

which

which he was highly pleased, they being then a new invention; and adds, that Artemon the engineer was with him, and that he on account of his lameness being carried about in a litter to direct such of the machines as required his presence, hence obtained the name of *Periphoretus*. But Heraclides of Pontus disproves this account, from some verses of Anacreon, in which Artemon Periphoretus is mentioned several ages before the Samian war. He says, that Artemon was a man extremely luxurious and effeminate, and of such excessive timidity, that he remained almost continually at home, where two servants always held a brazen shield over his head for fear any thing should fall upon him; and that if at any time he was necessarily obliged to go abroad, he was carried in a litter, which hung so low as almost to touch the ground; and that for this reason he was called *Periphoretus*.

After nine months the Samians surrendered. Pericles demolished their walls, seized their ships, and fined them in a great sum of money, part of which they paid immediately; a time was fixed for the payment of the rest, and they gave hostages as a security. Duris the Samian \* describes these transactions in a most tragical manner, and accuses the Athenians and Pericles of monstrous cruelty, of which neither Thucydides, Ephorus, nor Aristotle make any mention. The account he gives is utterly incredible, that Pericles brought the commanders of the Samian ships together with the seamen into the marketplace of Miletus, where he fastened them to boards, and left them in that condition for ten days, and then when they were almost expiring, ordered them

\* This historian lived in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus. He wrote a discourse upon tragedy, a history of Lybia, that of Agathocles of Syracuse, another of the Macedonians, or Greeks, and a book of the Samian boundaries. Cicero tells us he was *homo in historia diligens*; which does not agree with the character that Plutarch gives of him here. He speaks of him much in the same manner in the life of Alcibiades.

to be killed by beating them on the head with clubs; after which their bodies were thrown out into the fields, where they remained unburied. Duris, who often swerves from the truth even when not misled by any particular passion or interest, seems in this case to have exaggerated the miseries of his country on purpose to bring a reproach upon the Athenians.

Pericles, upon his return to Athens after this conquest, celebrated with great magnificence the funeral of those who had died in the war, and pronounced an oration in honour of them, which charmed and astonished the audience \*. When he came down from the Rostrum, the women all ran to compliment him, and crowned him with garlands like one who had gained a victory in the public games. But Elpinice coming up to him said, *You have acted gloriously indeed, Pericles, and deserve to be crowned for sacrificing so many of the bravest citizens, not in fighting with the Phœnicians or Persians, as my brother Cimon did, but in destroying a city united to us both in blood and friendship.* Pericles in reply only smiled, and repeated to her in a low voice these lines of Archilochus;

*Leave, leave, for shame, these youthful airs;  
Nor paint, nor dress becomes gray hairs.*

Ion says that he was extremely elated with this success, and boasted that whereas Agamemnon spent ten years in taking a Barbarian city, he had subdued the most powerful state among the Ionians in the space of nine months. And indeed he had reason to pride himself on this conquest, the war having

\* This oration is not to be confounded with that which he pronounced in honour of those who fell at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, which we find preserved in the second book of Thucydides. This mentioned here was pronounced in the last year of the eighty-fourth Olympiad, and the other not till the second of the eighty-seventh.



been attended with great hazard and uncertainty, if it be true, as Thucydides asserts, that the power of the Samians was so considerable, that the Athenians were in imminent danger of losing the dominion of the sea.

Some time after this, when the Peloponnesian war was ready to break out, the inhabitants of Corcyra being attacked by the Corinthians, Pericles persuaded the people to send them some assistance, and to secure in their interest that island which had so considerable a naval power; and would be of great service to them in the contest which they were likely to have soon with the Peloponnesians. The people having agreed to his proposal, he sent Lacedæmonius the son of Cimon with no more than ten ships, as if he designed only to disgrace him. For as there was a very great friendship subsisting between the family of Cimon and the Spartans, if Lacedæmonius performed nothing considerable in this expedition, a strong suspicion might arise of his treacherously favouring the Spartan interest. For this reason Pericles sent him out with so small a force, though he was very unwilling to accept of the command\*. But it was the constant endeavour of Pericles to depress the family of Cimon; he often said, that his sons ought not to be looked upon as native Athenians, that their very names proved them to be of foreign and illegitimate extraction †, one of them being called *Lacedæmonius*, another

\* The manner in which Thucydides relates this affair, is more probable, and not so dishonourable to Pericles. He tells us, that when Pericles ordered those ten ships to sail, he gave them instructions not to engage with the Corinthians, unless they saw them attempting to make a descent upon Corcyra; or any of its territories. His design was to let them fight among themselves as long as they pleased, that they might weaken one another, and be in no condition to oppose the Athenians in any war they might have with them hereafter. Besides, Lacedæmonius the son of Cimon was not the sole commander in this expedition; Diotenes and Proters were appointed by Pericles for his colleagues.

† See the life of Themistocles at the beginning.

*Thessalus*, and the third *Eleus*: and indeed it was generally thought that they were all born of an Arcadian woman. Pericles being much censured on account of these ships, which as they were a slender succour to those who had requested them, gave his enemies abundant occasion to reproach and vilify him, sent a larger fleet to reinforce them, which did not arrive till the battle was over\*.

The Corinthians resenting the conduct of the Athenians, made their complaint to the Lacedæmonians. They were joined by the Megarensians, who accused the Athenians of having excluded them from every market and every port in their dominions, contrary to the rights of nations, and the oaths which had been taken by the different states of Greece. The people of Ægina likewise, thinking themselves wronged and oppressed, though they durst not openly accuse the Athenians, yet applied in private to the Lacedæmonians. The siege of Potidæa, which happened at the same time, contributed also to hasten the war. This city, though originally a Corinthian colony, was subject to the Athenians, and had now revolted. However, as ambassadors were sent to Athens, and as Archidamus king of the Lacedæmonians endeavoured amicably to compose these differences, and to pacify the allies, the war might probably have been prevented, could the Athenians have been prevailed upon to come to an accommodation with the Megarensians, and to have repealed the decree which they had made against them. Therefore, as the opposition which was made to this measure proceeded chiefly from Pericles, who inflamed the minds of the people, and persisted in his implacable enmity to the Megarensians, he was considered as the sole author of the war.

\* But this fleet (which consisted of twenty ships) arrived just as they were preparing for a second engagement, which the sight of so considerable a force prevented.

It is said, that when the ambassadors came upon this occasion to Athens from Sparta, Pericles alleged a certain law that forbade the taking down any table on which a decree of the people was written: *Well then*, said Polyarces one of the ambassadors \*, *do not take it down; only turn the other side outward: there is no law against that.* The pleasantry of this repartee had no effect upon Pericles, nor in the least abated his animosity against the people of Megara. It is probable that his hatred to them was owing to some private and personal cause. But the charge which he brought against them in public was, that they had appropriated to themselves a piece of consecrated land; and he procured a decree to be passed, that a herald should be sent to Megara to expostulate with them, and from thence should go to Sparta to accuse them there of this sacrilegious action. This decree of Pericles contained nothing more than a mild and equitable remonstrance. But the herald Anthemocritus dying by the way, and the Megarensians being suspected as the authors of his death, Charinus proposed a decree, that there should be an eternal and irreconcilable hatred between the two states; that if any Megarensian entered the territory of the Athenians, he should be put to death; that the Athenian generals, when they took the customary oath, should swear besides to make an incursion twice a-year into Megaris; and that Anthemocritus should be buried near the Thriasian gate, which is now called *Dipylon* †. The Megarensians, however, absolutely deny the murder of Anthemocritus, and charge the whole guilt of the war upon Aspasia and Pericles;

\* Thucydides names three ambassadors, Ramphius, Melesippus, and Agesander, but makes no mention of Polyarces.

† We do not find any notice taken of this herald in Thucydides; and yet it is so certain, that the Megarensians were looked upon as the authors of the murder, that they were punished for it many ages after; for on that account the emperor Adrian denied them that relief which he had procured for the other cities and people of Greece.



in confirmation of which, they quote those well-known verses from the *Acharnenses* of Aristophanes:

*Some drunken youths from Athens went  
To Megara, on mischief bent;  
And thence (their valour to display):  
The whore Simætha stole away.  
Rage fires the Megarensian throng;  
With int'rest they repay the wrong;  
And enter'ing good Aspasia's doors,  
From her they force two fav'rite whores.  
Behold the spring of all our wo!  
Hence discord, war, and slaughter flow.*

The real cause of this war is very difficult to discover; but that the above-mentioned decree was not repealed, is universally ascribed to Pericles. Some think that his opposition to this measure proceeded from real greatness of mind, and a persuasion that he was acting for the best, as he thought that this proposition was made by the Lacedæmonians only to try the strength and resolution of the Athenians, and that to comply with it would have been to confess their weakness. Others are of opinion that he slighted the mediation of the Lacedæmonians from pride and obstinacy, from a spirit of contention, and a desire to manifest his power and authority.\*

But that cause of the war which is the most exceptionable of all, and which is assigned by most writers, is this. Phidias the statuary had undertaken, as we have said before, to make the statue of Minerva. The friendship and influence he had with Pericles, exposed him to envy, and procured

\* Thucydides takes no notice of these frivolous accounts, but makes it appear that the real cause of the war was the jealousy the Spartans had conceived of the Athenians, which prompted them to make use of every occasion to dispute with them the empire of the sea, and consequently of all Greece.

him many enemies, who being desirous, by making an experiment upon him, to try the disposition of the people, and what would be the event if Pericles himself should be cited before them, persuaded Menon, one of Phidias's workmen, to come as a suppliant into the Forum, and implore the protection of the people, that he might be at liberty to bring an information against Phidias. His request being granted, Phidias was tried before an assembly of the people, but the theft with which Menon charged him could not be proved. For the gold which was used in making this statue, Phidias, by the advice of Pericles, had fastened to it in such a manner, that it was easy to take it off and weigh it; and this the accusers were bid to do by Pericles. Phidias however sunk under the envy which his superior merit occasioned. But what gave the greatest offence was, that in the representation of the battle of the Amazons upon Minerva's shield, he had introduced his own figure, and appeared there in the likeness of a bald old man holding up a stone with both his hands. He had likewise engraven there an admirable figure of Pericles fighting with an Amazon; this was executed with consummate art, the hand that held out the spear seeming to have been designed to cover the face and conceal the resemblance, which, nevertheless, strongly appeared on each side \*. Phidias at last ended his life in a prison †. Some say that he died a natural death, o-

\* They pretended that those modern figures of Pericles and Phidias destroyed the credit of the ancient history, which did so much honour to Athens, and their founder Theseus. This figure of Phidias represented in the fight of the Amazons, has given occasion to a remarkable passage in the treatise *de mundo*, attributed to Aristotle. "It is said, that Phidias who made the statue of Minerva in the citadel, interwrought his own figure so artificially in the middle of the buckler of the goddess, and incorporated it with the whole composition in such a manner, that it was impossible to remove it without destroying the statue entirely."

† Others say that he was banished, and that in his exile he made the famous statue of Jupiter at Olympia.

thers that he was poisoned by his enemies, who intended to take occasion from thence to slander Pericles. As to the informer Menon, the people granted him an immunity from taxes by a decree which was proposed by Glycon; and the generals were charged to provide for his security.

About the same time Aspasia was prosecuted for impiety, upon the accusation of Hermippus the comic poet, who charged her besides with entertaining certain women of reputable families, to serve the debaucheries of Pericles. Diopithes likewise proposed a decree, that all those who denied the existence of the gods, or who taught profane opinions concerning celestial appearances, should be tried before an assembly of the people. This decree, though it most immediately affected Anaxagoras, yet was indirectly levelled at Pericles. The people seeming to listen readily to these accusations, another decree was proposed by Dracontides, that Pericles should lay before the Prytanes an account of the public money with which he had been intrusted, and that the judges should take the ballots from the altar, and try the cause in the city \*. But the last article was changed by Agnon, and it was decreed that the cause should be tried by the fifteen hundred judges, whether the accusation were laid for *embezzlement and taking of bribes*, or in general for *corrupt practices*. Aspasia was acquitted; Pericles having, as Æschines says, by force of tears and entreaties moved the judges to compassion. But fearing the event of Anaxagoras's trial, he sent him out of the city, and accompanied him part of the way. And as he himself was become obnoxious to the peo-

\* In the life of Themistocles we meet with another instance of this solemnity. What Plutarch means by *trying the cause in the city*, is not easy to determine, unless by the city we are to understand *the full assembly of the people*. By the fifteen hundred judges mentioned in the next sentence, the court of Helizæa is probably meant; for this court sometimes on extraordinary occasions consisted of that number.



ple upon Phidias's account, and was afraid of the consequence should he be called into a court of judicature, he urged on the war which as yet was lingering, and blew up that flame, which till then was stifled and suppressed. By this means he hoped to remove all reproach and accusation, and to mitigate the envy and ill-will of the people; for such was his authority and reputation, that in times of difficulty and danger they placed their confidence in him alone. These are the different causes assigned for his having prevented the people from yielding to the demand of the Lacedæmonians: which was the true one, is not known.

The Lacedæmonians being persuaded that if they could ruin Pericles, they might easily manage the Athenians, required them to remove from the city all execrable persons; for Pericles, as Thucydides says, was by the mother's side descended from some of those who had been pronounced *execrable* in the affair of Cylon \*. But this had a contrary effect to what the Lacedæmonians expected; for instead of distrust and reproach, it procured Pericles greater confidence and esteem from the Athenians, who considered him as the man whom their enemies most of all feared and hated. And therefore before Archidamus invaded Attica at the head of the Peloponnesian army, Pericles declared to the Athenians, that if Archidamus, when he was ravaging the rest of their lands, should abstain from his, either on account of the friendship and right of hospitality that subsisted between them, or to furnish his enemies with matter of slander against him, he would give his lands and houses to the public. The Lacedæmonians and their allies soon after entered Attica with a great army under the conduct of king Archidamus. They laid waste the

\* See vol. i. p. 283.

whole country, and advanced as far as Acharnæ\*, where they encamped, expecting that the Athenians would not patiently suffer them to continue there, but that pride and indignation would provoke them to fight. Pericles, however, thought it too dangerous an experiment to risk no less than the preservation of the city itself upon an engagement with sixty thousand Lacedæmonian and Bœotian troops; for that was the number employed in the first expedition. As to those who being exasperated by the devastations which the Lacedæmonians had committed, were eager to come to a battle, he endeavoured to cool and pacify them, by saying, *that trees after they are lopped will soon grow again, but when men are cut off, the loss is not easily repaired.* He avoided calling an assembly of the people, lest he should be forced to act contrary to his opinion. But as a pilot in a storm, when he has given proper directions, and disposed every thing belonging to the ship in the best manner, acts as the rules of his art require, regardless of the tears and entreaties of the sick and fearful passengers; thus Pericles having shut up the gates, appointed the guards, and taken every proper measure for their security, pursued the dictates of his own prudence, without paying any attention to the clamours and complaints of others. On one side he was attacked by the importunity of his friends, on the other by the threats and reproaches of his enemies. He was continually insulted by satirical songs and various other expressions of ridicule and contempt; his caution was represented as cowardice, and a desertion of his country, which he thus left as a prey to the enemy. Cleon † too incessantly reviled him, making

\* The borough of Acharnæ was one of the largest in Attica, for that alone supplied 3000 men as its quota for the public service. It was about 1500 paces from the city.

† The same Cleon that was so roughly handled by Ari'ophanes. He so well knew how to gain the affections of the people, that in  
time

king the general resentment against Pericles a means of increasing his own popularity; as appears by these verses of Hermippus:

*Why, king of satyrs \*, is the spear declin'd  
For empty threats that mingle with the wind?  
As groans the whetstone, when the faulchion's side  
To gain new keenness is with skill applied,  
So while you sharpen Cleon's wit, you rave,  
Your tongue a hero, but your heart a slave.*

Pericles, however, continued unmoved, patiently and silently enduring all these indignities and reproaches. And though he sent a fleet of an hundred ships to Peloponnesus, he would not sail with them, but remained at home to watch over the city, and keep the reins of government in his own hands till the Peloponnesians should retire. In order to appease the discontent of the common people on account of the war, he made a distribution of money and land; for having expelled the inhabitants of Ægina, he divided the island by lot among the Athenians. It was also some satisfaction to them to hear of the calamities which their enemies suffered. For those who sailed to Peloponnesus ravaged a large tract of country, and plundered and destroyed a great number of villages and small towns. He likewise in person invaded the Megarensians, and laid waste their whole territory†. Though the Peloponnesians so much distressed the Athenians by land, yet as they were themselves equally distressed by sea, they would

time he became general of the Athenians. See a further account of him in the life of Nicias.

\* This alludes to the debaucheries with which he was charged.

† Pericles was not so imprudent as to leave the city while the Lacedæmonians remained in Attica. He did not enter upon this expedition till the beginning of autumn, when they were withdrawn. The truth of this appears from Thucydides, who expressly tells us, that the Athenian fleet was returned from Peloponnesus to Ægina, and that the soldiers on board were sent to join the land-army.



soon have been tired out, and have put an end to the war before it had been drawn out to so great a length, (as Pericles foretold from the beginning), had not some divine power interposed to defeat the schemes of human prudence. For a pestilence broke out which consumed the most courageous and vigorous of the youth. And it not only affected their bodies, but their minds, so that they grew outrageous against Pericles, like men who in the delirium of a fever strike even their physician or their father: for the enemies of Pericles persuaded the citizens, that the distemper proceeded from the multitude of country-people who were crowded together in the city, and obliged, during the heat of summer, to live a lazy and inactive life, confined in little close tents and cabins, instead of breathing the pure and open air to which they had been accustomed. Of this, they said, he was the cause, who had, in consequence of that war which he himself had occasioned, poured in such vast numbers of people from the country, whom he kept unemployed, and penned up like cattle, to infect and destroy each other, without affording them any intervals of relief and refreshment.

Being desirous to remedy this calamity, and at the same time to annoy the enemy, he fitted out a fleet of an hundred and fifty ships, on board of which he embarked a great number of stout soldiers, both horse and foot. So large an armament very much encouraged the citizens, and no less terrified the enemy. Just after the men were all embarked, and Pericles himself was gone on board his own galley, there happened an eclipse of the sun. This sudden darkness was looked upon as an unfavourable omen, and threw them all into a great consternation. Pericles observing that the pilot was very much terrified and perplexed, put his cloak before the man's face, and wrapping him up in it, asked him if there was any terrible thing in that, or if he thought

thought it portended any calamity? He answered, *No. And what difference, said he, is there between this darkness and the other, except that the eclipse is caused by something larger than a cloak?* But the discussion of these subjects belongs to the schools of philosophy.

Pericles in this expedition performed nothing suitable to the greatness of his preparations. He laid siege to the sacred city of Epidaurus \*, but without success; this was owing to a distemper which raged in his army, and not only destroyed his soldiers, but all other persons who upon any occasion came into the camp. This unsuccessful expedition highly incensed the Athenians against Pericles, who endeavoured in vain to comfort and pacify them; nothing could allay their resentment till they had asserted their own power, and by a general suffrage deprived him of the command, and imposed a fine upon him; the sum according to the lowest account was fifteen talents, according to the highest fifty. The accusation was managed by Cleon, as Idomeneus tells us; but Theophrastus says that Simmidas was the accuser, and Heraclides of Pontus that it was Lacratidas.

As to these misfortunes which he suffered from the public, they were likely soon to have an end; for the people had, as it were, left their sting in the wound, and their anger was spent as soon as gratified. But his domestic afflictions were more severe; he had lost many of his friends and relations by the plague, and a division had long subsisted in his family. Xanthippus the eldest of his legitimate sons, who was himself of a prodigal disposition, and who had married a young extravagant wife, the daughter of Isander the son of Epilycus,

\* This Epidaurus was in Argeia. It was consecrated to Æsculapius, who had a magnificent temple there. Plutarch, by the epithet *sacred*, distinguishes it from another town of the same name in Laconia.

being extremely provoked at his father's exact œconomy, and the scanty allowance which he received from him, sent to one of his friends to borrow a sum of money in the name of Pericles. When the man afterwards demanded it, Pericles not only refused to pay it, but likewise brought an action against him. This so enraged Xanthippus, that he began openly to abuse and revile his father. First he turned into ridicule his conversations at home, and the discourses he held with the sophists ; and said, that when Epitimus the Pharsalian had undesignedly killed a horse by throwing a dart at the public games, his father disputed for a whole day with Protagoras, whether the dart, or the man who threw it, or the persons who directed the sports, ought, according to truth and reason, to be considered as the cause of this accident. Beside this, as Stefimbrotus says, he publicly spread a report of an infamous commerce between his wife and Pericles ; and he continued this implacable hatred against his father even to the end of his life. He died of the plague. At the same time Pericles also lost his sister, and most of his relations and friends who had been of the greatest service to him in managing the commonwealth. But he remained unshaken in the midst of these misfortunes, and still preserved his wonted dignity and serenity of mind. He neither wept, nor performed any funeral rites, nor was he seen at the grave of any of his nearest relations, till the death of Paralus his only surviving legitimate son. This at last subdued him ; he endeavoured indeed still to maintain his former character, and to show the same invincible firmness of mind by which he had been always distinguished ; but as he was putting a wreath upon the head of the dead body, not being able to support so affecting a sight, he (for the first time in his whole life) burst into a loud lamentation, and shed a flood of tears.

The



The people having made a trial of other generals and orators, and finding that none of them had abilities and authority equal to so important a charge, regretted the absence of Pericles, and invited him to resume his former power both in civil and military affairs. He had then for some time shut himself up at home to indulge his sorrow; and his spirits were quite depressed by the weight of his misfortunes. But, at the persuasion of Alcibiades and his other friends, he again appeared in public; and the people having acknowledged their ingratitude to him, he accepted the government. As soon as he was appointed general, he procured a repeal of that law concerning bastards, of which he himself had been the author; for if it had continued in force, his name and family must have become utterly extinct for want of a successor. The history of that law is this. Many years before, when Pericles was in the height of his power, and had, as we have already mentioned, some legitimate children, he persuaded the people to make a law that none should be esteemed citizens of Athens but those whose parents were both Athenians \*. When the king of Egypt sent forty thousand medimni of wheat to be distributed among the people of Athens, many contests and prosecutions arose in consequence of this law; for great numbers of those whom the law declared illegitimate, and who had hitherto passed unnoticed, were on this occasion discovered and prosecuted; and several besides were unjustly disgraced by means of false accusations. Near five thousand were sentenced as illegitimate and sold for slaves †. The number of those who upon examination appeared to be true Athenians, and entitled to the freedom of the

\* According to Plutarch's account at the beginning of the life of Themistocles, this law was made before the time of Pericles.

† Xyländer imagines that the text is faulty in this place. For this illegitimacy

the city, was fourteen thousand and forty. Though it was hard and unreasonable that a law which had been put in execution with such severity should be repealed at the request of him who had first proposed it, yet the Athenians being touched with compassion for the domestic misfortunes of Pericles, and thinking that he had been sufficiently punished for his excessive pride and haughtiness, and that humanity required them to alleviate these cruel persecutions of fortune by tenderness and kind offices, allowed him to register his son in his own tribe and under his own name. This was he who afterwards defeated the Peloponnesians in a sea-fight at Arginusæ, and was put to death by the people together with his colleagues\*.

About this time Pericles was seized with the plague; it did not, however, operate with its usual violence and constancy, but was rather a lingering distemper, which, with frequent intermissions and by slow degrees, wasted his body and enfeebled his mind. Theophrastus in his Ethics, when he is considering whether the characters of men may be changed by their fortunes, and whether the soul may be so affected by the disorders of the body as to be deprived of its virtue, relates, that Pericles showed to a friend who came to visit him in his sickness, an amulet which had been hung about his neck by the women, intimating that he must be

illegitimacy did not reduce men to a state of servitude; it only excluded them from the freedom of the city, and placed them in the rank of strangers.

\* The Athenians had appointed ten commanders on that occasion. After they had obtained the victory, they were tried, and sentence of death was pronounced against eight of them, of whom six that were upon the spot were executed, and this bastard son of Pericles was one of them. The only crime laid to their charge, was, that they had not buried the dead. Xenophon has given a large account of this transaction in his Grecian history. The engagement happened under the archonship of Callias, the 2d year of the 93d Olympiad, 24 years after the death of Pericles.

sick

sick indeed, since he submitted to so ridiculous a superstition.

While he lay at the point of death, his surviving friends and the principal citizens, who were sitting round his bed, discoursed together concerning his extraordinary virtue and the great authority which he had enjoyed, and mentioned his various exploits and the number of his victories; for while he was general of the Athenians, he had erected nine trophies for nine victories which he had obtained. They imagined that he was quite insensible, and that he understood nothing of their conversation; but he had listened attentively to all that had been said; and on a sudden breaking silence, he told them, that *he wondered they should extol those actions in which fortune had a considerable share, and which were such as had been performed by many other commanders, and that they should omit the best and most honourable part of his character, which was, that no Athenian through his means had ever put on mourning.*

Such was Pericles; a man who merits our highest admiration, whether we consider that lenity and moderation of temper which he constantly preserved amidst all the difficulties of public business and the violence of party-contentions, or that real dignity of sentiment which appeared in his esteeming this, among his various excellencies, to be the greatest, that, though his power was so absolute, he had never employed it to gratify his envy or resentment, nor had ever behaved to an enemy as if he thought him irreconcilable. And, in my opinion, his kind and dispassionate nature, his unblemished integrity and irreproachable conduct during his whole administration, are of themselves sufficient to justify the appellation of *Olympius* which was bestowed upon him; for though he could not otherwise have worn that title without arrogance and absurdity, yet his virtue prevented it from being the object of envy, and rendered it graceful and becoming. For this  
is



is the ground of our veneration for the gods ; and we judge them worthy to rule and direct the universe, because they are the authors of good only, and not of evil. The poets indeed attempt to perplex and mislead us by their vain and ridiculous imaginations ; but they confute themselves : for though they describe the habitation of the gods as a place of perfect security and repose, not disturbed by winds nor obscured by clouds, but perpetually illuminated by a pure light, and blessed with uninterrupted serenity, such an abode being best suited to the nature of happy and immortal beings ; yet they represent the gods themselves, as agitated by vexation, hatred, anger, and various other passions unworthy even of a wise man. But these reflections are, perhaps, more proper for some other place.

The state of public affairs after the death of Pericles soon convinced the Athenians of the greatness of their loss \*. For those who during his life most repined at the splendour of that power by which they were themselves darkened and eclipsed, as soon as he was dead, and a trial had been made of other orators and governors, acknowledged that no man could like him temper his pride with humanity and moderation, or unite so much dignity with so much mildness and patience. And that high authority which before had exposed him to envy, and had been represented as equal to that of a king or a tyrant, appeared now to have been the support and preservation of the state ; so enormous was that corruption and wickedness which afterwards overspread the commonwealth, and which during his administration had been checked and suppressed, and prevented from gaining such strength as to become quite desperate and incurable.

\* This will appear in the lives of Alcibiades, Nicias, and Lysander. Pericles died in the 3d year of the Peloponnesian war, that is, the last year of the 87th Olympiad.

# T H E L I F E O F F A B I U S M A X I M U S.

**H**AVING related the memorable actions of Pericles, let us now proceed to the life of Fabius. It is reported, that Hercules falling in love with a nymph near the banks of the Tiber, or, as some say, with a woman of that country, had by her the first Fabius \*, from whom is descended the family of the Fabii, one of the most numerous and powerful in Rome †. According to some they were first called *Fodii* ‡, because when they went a-hunting, they used to catch their game in traps and pits, for to this day the Romans call a pit *fovea*, and *fodere* signifies *to dig*; and in process of time, by the change of two letters, they came to be called

\* According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Hercules had but two children in Italy; one named *Pellas*, by a daughter of Evander, and another called *Latinus*, by an Hyperborean woman, whom he had brought with him into those parts.

† The most numerous, for that family alone undertook the war against the Veientes, and sent out against them 300 persons all of their own name, who were all slain in the service. It was likewise the most powerful, for it had enjoyed the highest dignities in the commonwealth. There were some of the Fabii who had been seven times consuls.

‡ Festus says they were called *Fovii*, from *fovea*. But why should we not rather believe with Pliny, that they were called *Fabii*, *a fabis*, from their skill in raising beans? as the *Lentuli* and *Ciceros* were so called from pease and lentils, *jam Fabiorum, Lentulorum, Ciceronum, ut quisque aliquod optime genus sereret.* lib. 18. cap. 3. This agrees with the simplicity of those times, when agriculture was the principal occupation of a hero.

*Fabii.*

*Fabii.* This family produced many eminent men. Fabius, whose life I am now writing, was the fourth in descent from that Fabius Rullus, or Rutilianus, who first brought the honourable surname of *Maximus* into his family \*. He likewise had the name of *Verrucosus*, from a wart on his upper lip; and in his childhood they called him *Ovicula* †, from the mildness and gravity of his disposition. His sedateness and taciturnity, his indifference to childish sports and amusements, his slowness and difficulty in learning, and his easy submissive behaviour to his equals, made those to whom he was not thoroughly known, esteem him insensible and stupid; a few only could discover that greatness of mind, that steadiness and invincible courage which lay concealed under this disadvantageous appearance. But as soon as he entered upon public employments, his hidden virtues displayed themselves. Then it appeared to all, that what had passed for timidity, was cautious prudence; and what seemed inactivity, indolence, and insensibility, was calm resolution and inflexible constancy.

Fabius considering the difficulty of managing so great a commonwealth, and the many wars in which the Romans were engaged, inured his body to labour and exercise, wisely judging that natural strength was the best armour: he also applied himself to the study of oratory, looking upon words as the engines by which the minds of the people are to be moved. And he attained to such a kind of eloquence, that his manner of speaking and of acting was perfectly the same: for in his speeches

\* This Fabius was five times consul, and obtained several important victories over the Samnites, Tuscans, and other nations. But it was not those memorable actions that procured him the surname of *Maximus*; which was given him, because when he was censor he reduced the whole populace of Rome into four tribes, who before were dispersed among all the tribes in general, and thus had very great power in the assemblies. These tribes were called *tribus urbanae*, Liv. ix. 46.

† *Ovicula* signifies a little sheep.



there were no nice refinements, nor affected and ostentatious ornaments; but they were always grave, sententious, and full of solid instruction; and are said to have much resembled those of Thucydides. We have yet extant his funeral oration upon the death of his son, who died consul, which he recited before the people.

He was five times consul, and in his first consulship had the honour of a triumph for the victory he gained over the Ligurians, who, being defeated with great loss, were forced to take shelter in the Alps, from whence they never after made any inroad nor depredations upon their neighbours. After this Hannibal came into Italy \*, and having at his first entrance gained a great battle near the river Trebia, traversed all Tuscany with his victorious army, and laying waste the country round about, filled Rome itself with astonishment and terror. At the same time many omens were observed, some of which were common and familiar to the Romans, as thunder and lightning; others were very strange and unaccountable. For it was said, that some targets sweated blood; that at Antium, when they reaped their corn, many of the ears were filled with blood; that red-hot stones dropped from the clouds; that the Falerians had seen the heavens open †, and several billets falling down,

\* Here Plutarch leaves a void of fifteen years; for Hannibal entered into Italy under the consulate of Scipio and Sempronius, the third year of the 140th Olympiad, the 535th of Rome, and 216 before the commencement of the Christian æra.

† It seems to me that Plutarch misunderstood Livy, who mentions two different prodigies. These are his words. *Lib. 22. Faleriis cælum fndi visum velut magno biatu, quaque patuerit, ingens lumen effulsisse; sortes sua sponte attenuatas, unamque excidisse ita scriptam, Mavors telum suum concutit.* "At Falerium the sky was seen to open, and from the void space streamed a great body of light. The lots shrunk of their own accord, and one of them dropped down, whereon was written, *Mars brandisheth his sword.*" Out of these two prodigies Plutarch has made but one. These lots did not drop out of the sky. Livy speaks of the lots which were carefully preserved in an olive chest at Præneste. They

down, in one of which was plainly written, *Now Mars himself brandishes his arms*. But these prodigies had no effect upon the impetuous and fiery temper of the consul Flaminius, whose natural vehemence had been much heightened by his late victory over the Gauls, which he obtained contrary to all probability, having engaged them in opposition to the order of the senate and the advice of his colleague. But though Fabius did not much regard these prodigies which so affected the minds of the multitude, looking on them as too absurd to be believed, \* yet knowing

They appeared shrunk or lessened, which of itself was ominous, and one of them dropped down, on which was found the inscription mentioned.

Cicero, in his second book on divination, has given an account of the nature of these lots, and the manner of divination by them. He says, that in the archives of Præneste it was written, that one of the most considerable men in the city, named *Numerius Sufficius*, was directed by several dreams, to go and break open a stone which stood in a certain place; that he accordingly went, and when he had done as he had been commanded, several bits of oak handsomely wrought issued out of the stone, with some ancient characters inscribed upon them; that they were immediately deposited in an olive coffer; that when any one came to consult them, the coffer was opened, and a child having first shaken them together, drew out one from the rest, which contained the answer to the querist's demand. But what are we to understand from these words in Livy, *sortes extenuatæ*, which was looked upon as an ill omen? Probably there were two sets of these lots, one large and the other small, and the priests contrived that one or the other should be drawn just as they thought it for their purpose, to encourage or intimidate those who came to consult them. For in prodigies, dreams, and visions, if any thing appeared larger than its usual size, the omen was esteemed favourable; if smaller, the contrary. Cicero adds, that these lots were very much discredited in his time; that no body made use of them, nor was the name of the *Prænestine* lots known but by the common people, who are always tenacious of their superstitions. However, it appears from a remarkable passage in Suetonius, that they got into vogue again in the reign of Tiberius; for he tells us, that that emperor having a design to ruin all the oracles in the neighbourhood of Rome, was deterred from it by the majesty of those *Prænestine* lots; for that having caused the coffer close shut, and sealed, to be brought to him, upon opening it there was not one lot to be seen in it, but so soon as it was restored to the temple, they were all found in it as usual. Præneste was not the only place where these lots were to be found; they had them at Antium, at Tibur, and other places.

\* Had this been said of Flaminius, it would have been no more than he

knowing that their enemies were few in number and in great want of money, he advised the Romans to wait patiently, and not risk an engagement with a general whose army was well disciplined, and inured to war by many battles which they had fought under his command; and told them, that if they would only take care to send succours to their allies, and secure the cities which were in their possession, the vigour of the enemy would soon expire of itself, like a flame for want of fuel. These reasons however did not prevail with Flaminius, who protested he would not suffer the enemy to advance, nor would he be reduced, as Camillus formerly was, to fight for Rome within the walls of Rome. Accordingly he ordered the tribunes to draw out the army into the field. As soon as he mounted his horse, the beast, without any apparent cause, took fright, and cast his rider headlong on the ground \*. Notwithstanding this, he persisted in his first resolution of marching to meet Hannibal, and drew up his army near the lake Trasimena in Tuscany. During the engagement, there happened so great an earthquake that it destroyed

he deserved: for Livy tells us that he feared not the gods, *nec deorum facis metuens erat*; and that he neither took the advice of gods or men, *nec deos nec homines consulentem*. But I question whether Plutarch had the same reason to say it of Fabius, at least I have not met with any thing that could give one such an idea of him. He was too prudent to oppose or condemn the reigning religion, from regard to which the senate had been induced to order that those prodigies should be expiated by sacrifices, by public prayers and offerings. If Fabius was not moved by these prodigies, it was not because he despised them, but because he hoped, by appeasing the anger of the gods, to render them ineffectual; and accordingly he omitted nothing requisite thereto, as we shall see in the sequel.

\* This fall from his horse, which was looked upon as ominous, was followed by something else, which was understood to be altogether as unfavourable. When the ensign attempted to pull his standard out of the ground in order to march, he had not strength enough to draw it up. But where is the wonder, says Cicero, to have a horse take fright, or to find a standardbearer, who perhaps was unwilling to march, feebly endeavouring to draw up the standard which he had purposely struck deep into the ground?



several towns, altered the course of rivers, and tore off the tops of mountains: yet none of the combatants were sensible of this violent agitation. In this battle Flaminius fell, having given many proofs of his strength and courage, and round about him lay all the bravest of the army; the rest were put to flight, and great slaughter was made of them. In the whole, fifteen thousand were killed, and as many taken prisoners\*. Hannibal being desirous to bestow funeral honours upon the body of Flaminius, on account of his bravery, made diligent search after it, but could not find it; nor was it ever known what became of it. When the former defeat happened near Trebia, neither the general who wrote nor the messenger who told the news, related it otherwise than as a battle in which the loss was equal on both sides: but now, as soon as Pomponius the prætor had the intelligence, he caused the people to assemble, and without disguising the matter, told them plainly, *We are defeated (O Romans!), our army is destroyed, the consul Flaminius is killed; think therefore what is to be done for your safety.* The same commotion which a furious wind causes in the ocean, did these words of the prætor raise in the minds of that great multitude. In their first consternation they were at a loss what to determine, but soon united in the resolution of choosing a dictator, the present exigence requiring that absolute power should be lodged in the hands of some one man who would exercise it with steadiness and intrepidity. Their choice unanimously fell upon Fabius †, whose gravity of manners and un-

\* Livy and Valerius Maximus mention only 6000 prisoners.

† None but the consuls had the power of naming a dictator, and as Servilius was at the army, and his colleague Flaminius slain, the people named *Fabius Prodictator*; and we are told by Livy, that in consideration of the merits of this great man, his descendents obtained the privilege of putting *dictator* instead of *prodictator* in the list of his titles.

daunted courage rendered him equal to the greatness of the command; and who was then of an age in which valour was tempered by prudence, and in which the body was in full vigour for executing the purposes of the mind. Fabius having entered upon the office of dictator, in the first place gave the command of the horse to Lucius Minucius\*; and next he asked leave of the senate for himself, that in time of battle he might serve on horseback, which by an ancient law amongst the Romans was forbid to their generals; whether it were, that placing their greatest strength in their foot, they would have their commanders in chief posted amongst them; or whether they designed to show that the dictator, though he was uncontrolled in all other respects, yet in this was dependent on the people. Fabius, to make the authority of his charge more awful, and to render the people more submissive and obedient to him, caused himself to be accompanied with four and twenty lictors; and when the consul came to visit him, he sent him word, that he should dismiss his lictors with their fasces, and, laying aside all ensigns of authority, appear before him only as a private person.

He began his dictatorship in the best manner possible, by public acts of devotion to the gods, and assured the people, that their late overthrow was not owing to want of courage in the soldiers, but to the neglect of religious ceremonies in the general. He therefore exhorted them not to fear the enemy, but by extraordinary honours to appease the gods. This he did, not to fill their minds with superstition, but only to raise their courage, and abate their fear of the enemy, by making them believe, that heaven was on their side. For this purpose they consulted those mysterious and valuable writings called the *Sibylline books*; and it is said there were found some

\* Polybius and Livy call him *Marcus Minucius*.

prophecies in them which perfectly agreed with the circumstances of that time; but whoever looked into them, was obliged to keep secret what he discovered there. After this he assembled the people, and made a vow \* before them to offer in sacrifice the whole produce of the next season through all Italy, of the cows, goats, swine, sheep, both in the mountains and the plains: and the more to solemnize this great vow, he commanded the sum of 333,000 sesterces, and 333 denarii, and one third of a denarius, to be expended upon festival games in honour of the gods: (which in our Greek money amounts to 83,583 drachmas, and two oboli). What his reason might be for fixing upon that precise number, is not easy to determine, unless it were on account of the perfection of the number three †, as being the first of odd numbers, the first of plurals, and containing in itself the first differences, and the elements of all numbers.

By these acts of religion, Fabius inspired the people with better hopes. But he placed his whole confidence in himself, believing that the Gods bestowed victory and good fortune only upon the valiant and the prudent. Thus prepared, he marched against Hannibal, not with intention to come to an engagement, but by length of time to exhaust the spirit and vigour of the enemy, and gradually to distress and weaken them, by properly improving

\* This vow was called *Ver Sacrum*, and whoever made it obliged himself to consecrate to the gods all the cattle which should be produced between the first of March and the first of May. Among some nations of Italy, the children who were born during that period were likewise included in the vow; not that they sacrificed them like other animals; but as soon as they were grown up, they drove them out of their country, and obliged them to seek a habitation elsewhere.

† The Pythagoreans and Platonics held the number three to be perfect for several reasons which it would be tedious here to mention. *One* not being a number, *three* is therefore the first of odd numbers. It is the first of plurals, for the Greeks did not call *two* a plural number, but a *dual*. What Plutarch further adds concerning the properties of this number, seems less easy to explain.

his



His superiority over them in number of men and plenty of money. With this design he always encamped on the highest grounds, where their horse could have no access. He carefully observed the motions of Hannibal's army; when they marched, he followed them; when they encamped, he did the same, always keeping upon the hills, and at such a distance as not to be compelled to an engagement \*, by which means he gave them no rest, but kept them in a continual alarm.

But this dilatory method gave occasion both at Rome, and even in his own camp, to suspect his want of courage; and this opinion prevailed also in Hannibal's army, who was himself the only man who was not deceived, and who clearly saw the design of the enemy. He determined therefore to try all means to bring Fabius to an engagement, without which the ruin of the Carthaginians was inevitable; for they were now prevented from making any advantage of their superiority in arms, and with regard to money and number of men, in both which they were already inferior to the Romans, they were growing weaker every day. For this purpose he practised every art and stratagem to oblige Fabius to change his measures; like a skilful wrestler who watches every opportunity to lay hold of his adversary. Sometimes he advanced, and alarmed him with the apprehension of an attack; sometimes retiring to a distance, and marching

\* The chief advantage which the troops of Hannibal had over those of Fabius, was that vigour and hardiness with which their frequent victories had inspired them. Besides, they were superior to the Romans in horse: but then the Romans had several advantages over Hannibal, which being well improved would necessarily procure them the victory. They raised recruits with great ease, and were plentifully supplied with all sorts of ammunition and provision, so that being in want of nothing, they were not obliged to go out of their camp, where Fabius kept them close, watching all opportunities of falling upon the Carthaginians, who frequently foraged up to his very intrenchments, so that never a day passed wherein some of them were not cut off; by which means he weakened the enemy, and heartened his own soldiers.

from place to place, he led him up and down the country. But all this artifice had no effect upon the firmness and constancy of the dictator, who was fully persuaded of the goodness of his plan. He was however made very uneasy by the impatience and unseasonable courage of Minucius his general of the horse, who by continually haranguing the soldiers, inspired them with a furious eagerness for battle, and a vain confidence of success; so that they derided and insulted Fabius, calling him the *Pedagogue of Hannibal* \*, and at the same time extolled Minucius as a brave man and worthy to be a Roman general. This raised his vanity and presumption to such a pitch, that he insolently rallied Fabius's encampments upon the mountains, saying, that he lodged his men there, as on a theatre, to behold the flames and desolation of their country. And he would sometimes ask the friends of Fabius, whether it were not his meaning, by leading them from mountain to mountain, to carry them at last (having no hopes on earth) up into heaven, and hide them in the clouds from Hannibal's army? When his friends related these things to the dictator, and persuaded him to avoid the general obloquy by engaging the enemy; his answer was, *I should be more timorous than they represent me if I should quit my purpose through the fear of reproach and ridicule. It is no inglorious thing to fear for the safety of our country. That man is unworthy of such a command as this, who is intimidated by calumny, and who makes himself the slave of those whom he ought to govern, and whose folly and rashness it is his duty to restrain.*

Some time after this Hannibal committed a great mistake. For being desirous to remove to a greater distance from Fabius, and to encamp in a place

\* For the office of a pedagogue, as the name implies, was to follow the children, to carry them up and down, and conduct them home again.

more convenient for forage, he drew off his army, and ordered his guides to conduct him to \* Casinum. They misunderstanding him on account of his bad pronounciation of the Latin tongue, led him and his army to the borders of Campania, and the town Casilinum, through the middle of which the river Volturnus runs. The adjacent country is entirely surrounded with hills, except that there is an opening towards the sea; and on that side the valley extends quite to the coast. Near the sea the ground is very marshy, and in many places covered with large banks of sand, occasioned by the overflowing of the river. The sea is there very rough, and the coast dangerous for ships. As soon as Hannibal was entered into this valley, Fabius being well acquainted with the way, led his army round by another road, and dispatched four thousand men to stop up the entrance; the rest of his army he posted upon the neighbouring hills, in the most advantageous places: but at the same time he detached a party of his best light-armed troops to fall upon Hannibal's rear; which they did with such success, that they cut off eight hundred of them, and put the whole army into disorder. Hannibal, finding his error, and the danger he was fallen into, immediately crucified the guides; but his enemies were so advantageously posted, that there were no hopes of breaking through them, and his soldiers began to despair of ever coming out of those straits.

Thus reduced, Hannibal had recourse to this stratagem: He caused two thousand oxen, which he had in his camp, to have torches and dry bays well fastened to their horns; these being lighted upon a signal given at the beginning of the night, the beasts were driven up the hills near that nar-

\* It was not only for the sake of forage that Hannibal desired to gain the plains of Casinum; his main drift was to prevent Fabius from succouring his allies; which would have been the case if he could have secured that post.



row pass which was guarded by the enemy. While those to whom the execution of the order was committed were thus employed, he with the rest of his army marched leisurely on. The oxen at first kept a slow pace, and greatly surprised the shepherds and herdsmen on the adjacent hills, as they appeared like an army marching in order with lighted torches. But when the fire had burnt down the horns of the beasts to the quick, they no longer kept their order, but unruly with their pain, they ran dispersed about, tossing their heads, setting each other on fire, and scattering the flames around them, which caught the bushes through which they ran. This was a surprising spectacle to the Romans, especially to those who guarded the passages, who being at some distance from the main body, and seeing the fire on a sudden dispersing itself on every side, as if the enemy had designed to surround them, in great terror quitted their post, and retired with precipitation to their camp on the hills. They were no sooner gone, but a body of Hannibal's light-armed men, according to his order, immediately seized the passages; and soon after the whole army, with all the baggage, came up, and safely marched through. Fabius, before the night was over, discovered the stratagem; for some of the beasts fell into the hands of his men; but, for fear of an ambush in the dark, he kept his men all night to their arms in the camp: and as soon as it was day, he charged the rear of the enemy in the narrow pass, and put them into great disorder: but Hannibal speedily detached from his van a body of Spaniards, who were light and nimble men, and used to climb mountains; these briskly attacked the Roman troops, who were in heavy armour, killed many of them, and obliged Fabius to retire. This action brought great disgrace upon the dictator: the Romans said, it was now manifest, that he was not only inferior to his adversary (as they always thought)

thought) in courage, but even in what he most pretended to, conduct and prudence.

Hannibal, to inflame their hatred against him still more, marched with his army close to the lands and possessions of Fabius; and then giving orders to his soldiers to burn and destroy all the country about, he forbade them to do the least damage in the territories of the Roman general, and placed guards for their security. These things being reported at Rome, had that effect with the people which Hannibal desired. Their tribunes inveighed loudly against him, chiefly at the instigation of Metilius, who not so much out of hatred to him, as out of friendship to Minucius, whose kinsman he was, thought by depressing Fabius to raise his friend. The senate was also offended with him for the bargain he had made with Hannibal about the exchange of prisoners, of which the conditions were, that, after the exchange made of man for man, if any on either side remained, they should be redeemed at the price of two hundred and fifty drachmas each; and upon the whole account there remained two hundred and forty Romans unexchanged. The senate not only refused to allow money for the ransoms, but also reproached Fabius as acting contrary to the honour and interest of the commonwealth, in redeeming those men at so dear a rate, whose cowardice had betrayed them into the hands of the enemy. Fabius heard and endured all this with invincible patience: but having no money with him, and on the other side being resolved to keep his word with Hannibal, and not to suffer his fellow-citizens to remain in captivity, he dispatched his son to Rome, with orders to sell his lands, and to bring with him the price, sufficient to discharge the ransoms. This was punctually performed by his son, and accordingly the prisoners were delivered to him; many of whom afterwards offered to repay the money, but Fabius would not accept it.

About

About this time Fabius was called to Rome by the priests, to assist at some of the solemn sacrifices; whereby he was forced to leave the command of the army with Minucius: but before he parted, he not only commanded him as dictator, but likewise earnestly intreated him not to come to a battle with Hannibal. His commands, his entreaties, and his advice were lost upon Minucius; for he was no sooner gone, but the new general immediately sought all occasions to fight the enemy. Observing one day that Hannibal had sent out a great party of his army to forage, he fell upon those who were left behind, killed a great number, and advanced to their very trenches, so that they feared he would even storm their camp; and when the rest of Hannibal's men returned, he without any loss made his retreat\*. This success much increased the presumption of Minucius, and the ardour of the soldiers. The news was immediately carried to Rome; and Fabius as soon as he heard it, said, *That he dreaded nothing more than the success of Minucius.* But the people mad with joy, ran into the Forum; and Metilius, their tribune, made an oration to them, in which he highly extolled Minucius, and accused Fabius both of cowardice and treachery; nay he charged not only him, but also many others of the most eminent men in Rome, with *having been the occasion of bringing the war into Italy, and designing thereby to oppress and enslave the people; for which end they had put the supreme authority into the hands of a single person, who by his dilatory proceedings gave leisure to Hannibal to establish himself in Italy, and the Carthaginians time and opportunity to supply him with fresh succours in order to a total conquest.* At this Fabius stepped forth, but disdained to make any reply to his accusations; he only bid them *finish the*

\* Others say that he lost five thousand of his men, and that the enemy's loss did not exceed his by more than a thousand.



*sacrifices and ceremonies as soon as possible, that so he might speedily return to the army, to punish Minucius, who had presumed to fight contrary to his orders.* These words caused a great tumult among the people, who imagined that Minucius stood in danger of his life: for it was in the power of the dictator to imprison, and to put to death without any trial; and they feared that Fabius, though naturally of a mild temper, yet when once provoked would not easily be appeased. However, no one dared to oppose the dictator except Metilius, whose office of tribune gave him liberty to say what he pleased; for in the time of a dictator that magistrate only preserves his authority. He therefore boldly applied himself to the people, and entreated them not to abandon Minucius, nor suffer him to be destroyed, like the son of Manlius Torquatus, who was beheaded by his father, because he had gained a victory. Then he exhorted them to take away from Fabius that absolute power of a dictator, and intrust it to one who was more able and willing to employ it for the general safety. This discourse made a strong impression on the people. They would not, however, venture wholly to deprive Fabius of his authority, notwithstanding the disgrace he had incurred; but they decreed, that Minucius should have an equal authority with the dictator in the army; which was a thing then without precedent; though not long after it was also practised upon the overthrow at Cannæ, when the dictator Marcus Junius being with the army, they chose at Rome Fabius Buteo dictator, that he might create new senators to supply the places of those who were killed. But there was this difference in the two cases, that Buteo had no sooner filled the vacant places in the senate than he dismissed his lictors with their fasces, and all his attendants, and mingling himself like a common person with the rest of the people, he quietly went about his own affairs. The enemies  
of

of Fabius thought they had sufficiently affronted and humbled him, by raising Minucius to be his equal in authority; but they mistook the temper of the man, who did not look upon their madness as any reproach to him. For as Diogenes, when he was told that some persons derided him, made answer, *But I am not derided*; meaning that they only were ridiculous who suffered themselves to be made uneasy by derision; thus Fabius, with great lenity and unconcernedness, submitted to this mad vote of the people, and proved the truth of the opinion of those philosophers who maintain that a wise and good man can never be really affronted and disgraced. However, he was extremely concerned, for the sake of the public, that such a power should be lodged in the hands of a man of so haughty and impetuous a temper; and lest the rashness of Minucius should prompt him to run headlong upon some dangerous enterprise, with all privacy and speed he returned back to the army; where he found Minucius so elated with his new dignity, that a joint authority not contenting him, he required by turns to have the command of the army, every other day. This proposal Fabius rejected, and thought it less dangerous that the army should be divided, and each general should command his part. The first and fourth legion he took for his own division, the second and third he delivered to Minucius; so also of the auxiliary forces each had an equal share.

Minucius thus exalted, could not contain himself from boasting; that, out of regard to him, the people had humbled the pride of the dictatorial power. To this Fabius replied, *Consider, Minucius, it is Hannibal, and not Fabius, whom you are to combat; but if you must needs contend with your colleague, let it be by showing that he who has been honoured and favoured by the people is not less concerned for their welfare than he who has been ill-treated and disgraced by them.*

*them.* Minucius looked upon this as the raillery of an old man ; and immediately removed with his part of the army, and encamped by himself. Hannibal, who watched every advantage, was not ignorant of what passed. It happened, that between his army, and that of the Romans, there was a certain eminence which seemed a very advantageous post to encamp upon ; a large plain was extended round it, which appeared to be all level and even ; and yet there were a great many ditches and hollows in it, not discernible at a distance. Hannibal, had he pleased, could easily have possessed himself of this ground ; but he reserved it for a bait to draw the Romans to an engagement. As soon as he saw that Minucius and Fabius were divided, he in the night-time lodged a convenient number of his men in those ditches and hollow places, and early in the morning he sent a small detachment, who in the sight of the enemy were to seize that post, hoping by this means to tempt Minucius to dispute the possession of it with him. According to his expectation, Minucius first sent out a party of light-armed troops, and after them some horse ; and at last, when he saw Hannibal in person advancing to the assistance of his men, he marched with his whole army drawn up, and vigorously attacked those who were stationed upon the rising ground. The combat for some time was equal ; but as soon as Hannibal perceived that the whole army of the Romans was now sufficiently advanced within the toils he had set for them, so that their backs were open to his men whom he had posted in those low places, he instantly gave the signal ; upon which they rushed forth, and furiously attacked Minucius in the rear, where they made great slaughter. This occasioned inexpressible confusion and terror in the Roman army, and damped even the spirit of Minucius. He looked round upon his officers one after another,



ther, and saw that none of them could maintain their ground, but all betook themselves to flight : yet in this there was no safety ; for the victorious Numidians spread themselves every way, and cut to pieces all whom they found scattered about the plain.

Fabius was not ignorant of this danger of his countrymen : he foreseeing what would happen kept his men to their arms, in a readiness to wait the event ; nor would he trust to the reports of others, but he himself from an eminence near his camp viewed all that passed. When therefore he saw the army of Minucius encompassed by the enemy, and heard sounds not resembling the shouts of soldiers engaged in battle, but like the cries of men overpowered and put to flight, with a deep groan, striking his hand upon his thigh, he said to those about him, *O heavens ! how much sooner than I expected, and yet how much later than he would fain have done, has Minucius destroyed himself !* He then commanded the ensigns to march, and the army to follow him, calling aloud to them, *Now let every one who remembers Minucius make haste to his assistance. He is a brave man, and a lover of his country ; and if he has been too forward to engage the enemy, we will tell him of it hereafter.* Thus at the head of his men Fabius marched up to the enemy ; and in the first place he cleared the plains of those Numidians, and next he fell upon those who were charging the Romans in the rear, and cut to pieces all who made any resistance ; the rest saved themselves by flight, fearing lest they should be environed as the Romans had been. Hannibal seeing so sudden a change of affairs, and Fabius with a force beyond his age opening his way through the ranks that he might join Minucius, sounded a retreat, and drew off his men into their camp. The Romans on their part were no less contented to retire in safety. It is reported, that upon this occasion Hannibal pleasantly said

said to his friends, *Did not I tell you that this cloud which hovered upon the mountains, would at some time or other come down with a storm upon us?* Fabius, after his men had stripped the dead bodies of the enemies, retired to his own camp, without saying any harsh or reproachful thing concerning his colleague; who also on his part gathering his army together, in this manner delivered himself to them: *Fellow-soldiers, never to err in the management of great affairs, is above the force of human nature; but to improve by the faults we have committed, is what becomes a good and a prudent man. Some reasons I may have to accuse fortune, but I have many more to thank her: for in a few hours she has taught me what I never learned before, that I am not fit to command others, but have need of another to command me; and that we are not to contend for a victory over those to whom it is our advantage to yield. Therefore for the future the dictator must be your commander; I will however still be your leader, in showing you an example of gratitude, and in being always the first to obey his orders.* Having said this, he commanded the standardbearers to march forward, and all his men to follow him into the camp of Fabius. As soon as he entered the camp, he marched directly towards the dictator's tent, the whole army in the mean time wondering what his design was. When Fabius came out to meet him, Minucius fixed his standards before him, saluting him with a loud voice by the name of *Father*; and his soldiers called those of Fabius their *Patrons*, an appellation given by slaves who are made free to those to whom they owe their liberty. As soon as there was silence in the army, Minucius thus addressed the dictator: *You have this day, Fabius, obtained a double victory; one by your valour over your enemies, and another over your colleague by your prudence and humanity; by the one you have preserved us, by the other you have instructed us; and Hannibal's victory over us is not more disgraceful than yours is honourable and salutary to*

*us. I call you Father, because I know no title more honourable: but I am more obliged to you than to my father; to him I am only obliged for my own life, to you for my own and the lives of all these here present.* After this, he threw himself into the arms of the dictator; and in the same manner the soldiers of each army embraced one another with every expression of tenderness, and with tears of joy.

Not long after Fabius laid down the dictatorship, and new consuls were created. Those who immediately succeeded, observed the same method in managing the war, and avoided all occasions of fighting Hannibal in a pitched battle; they only succoured their allies, and prevented their towns from revolting to the enemy. But afterwards, when Terentius Varro \* (a man of obscure birth, but very popular and bold) had obtained the consulship, he soon made it appear, that, by his rashness and ignorance, he would expose the commonwealth to the utmost hazard: for it was his custom to declaim in all assemblies, that as long as the counsels of Fabius prevailed in Rome, there would never be an end of the war; and he boasted, that whenever he should get sight of the enemy, he would free Italy from the arms of strangers. With these promises he so prevailed with the credulous multitude, that he raised a greater army than had ever yet been sent out of Rome. There were listed 88,000 men. But that which gave confidence to the populace, very much terrified and dejected the wise and experienced, and none more than Fabius: for if so great a body, and the flower of the Ro-

\* He was the son of a butcher, and had served under his father in that trade; but being become wealthy, he was desirous of pushing his fortune, and applied himself to the bar. He knew so well how to insinuate himself into the good opinion of the populace by flattering them, and supporting the meanest of the people against the best men in Rome, that in time he attained to the greatest honours in the commonwealth. He was ædile, quæstor, prætor, and at last consul.



man youth, should be cut off, they could not see any resource for the safety of Rome. Wherefore they addressed themselves to the other consul, Paulus Æmilius, a man of great experience in war, but not agreeable to the common people, and one that stood in fear of them, because they had formerly set a fine upon him. Him they encouraged to withstand the temerity of his colleague, telling him, that if he would serve his country, he must no less oppose Varro than Hannibal, since both were desirous to come to a battle, the one because he knew not his own strength, the other because he knew his own weakness. *It is more reasonable,* said Fabius to him, *that you should believe me than Varro, in matters relating to Hannibal; and I tell you, that if for this year you abstain from fighting with him, either he will leave Italy, or he will be ruined if he stays. This evidently appears, since notwithstanding his victories none of the countries or towns of Italy join with him, and his army is not the third part of what it was at first.* To this Paulus Æmilius is said to have replied, *Did I only consider myself, I should rather chuse to be exposed to the weapons of Hannibal, than to be tried again by the suffrages of my fellow-citizens; yet, in this hazardous situation of our affairs, I will rather in my conduct be directed by Fabius, than by all the world besides.* With this resolution he set forward to join the army. Varro insisted that they should command alternately \*; and when his turn came, he posted his army close to Hannibal †, at a village

\* Varro's demand was not an unreasonable one, as Plutarch seems to represent it; for Polybius informs us that it was a fixed rule with the Romans, that the consuls should have the command of the army by turns.

† Plutarch has forgot an engagement which happened before that which he now speaks of, where the Romans under the command of Paulus Æmilius defeated the Carthaginians, who lost in the action above seventeen hundred of their men; whereas on the Roman side there fell hardly an hundred.

called *Cannæ*, by the river *Aufidus*. It was no sooner day, but he set up the red flag over his tent, which was the signal of battle. This boldness of the consul, and the numerousness of his army, terrified the Carthaginians, who had not half the number; but Hannibal commanded them to their arms, while he with a few attendants went on horseback to a rising ground not far distant, to take a view of the enemy who were now drawn up in order of battle. One of his followers called *Gisco*, a nobleman of Carthage, told him that the number of the enemy was very astonishing. Hannibal replied, with a serious countenance: *There is something yet more astonishing, which you take no notice of.* *Gisco* asking what he meant? Hannibal answered; *It is, that in all that army there is not one man whose name is Gisco.* This unexpected jest made all the company laugh; and as they returned to the camp, they told it to those whom they met, which caused a general laughter among them all. The sight of this greatly encouraged the Carthaginian army, who supposed that their general would not on such an occasion indulge himself in jesting and laughter, unless he had a thorough contempt of the enemy.

In this battle Hannibal employed great art. In the first place, he drew up his men with their backs to the wind, which was very violent and scorching, and carried with it from the plain vast clouds of sand and dust, which flying over the heads of the Carthaginians very much incommoded the Romans, and obliged them to turn away their faces. In the next place, all his best men he put into the wings; and in the main body, which was considerably more advanced than the wings, he placed the worst and the weakest of his army. Then he commanded those in the wings, that when the enemy had made a thorough charge upon that middle advanced body, which he knew would recoil, as not  
being

being able to stand their shock, and when the Romans, in their pursuit, should be far enough engaged within the two wings, they should both on the right and the left charge them in the flank, and endeavour to encompass them. This design had all the success imaginable; for the Romans pressing upon Hannibal's front, which gave ground, reduced the form of his army into a half-moon; and they followed on so far, that they gave room for the enemies wings to join behind them, and so to inclose and charge them both in flank and rear; which they did with an incredible slaughter of the Romans; to whose calamity, it is also said, that a casual mistake did very much contribute: for the horse of Æmilius receiving a hurt, and throwing his master, those about him immediately alighted to aid the consul: the Roman troops seeing their commanders thus quitting their horses, took it for a sign that they should all dismount and charge the enemy on foot. At the sight of this, Hannibal was heard to say, *This pleases me better than if they had been delivered to me bound hand and foot.* For the particulars of this engagement, we refer our reader to those authors who have written at large upon this subject.

The consul Varro with a small number fled to Venusia; and Paulus Æmilius, amidst this confusion and terror, his body being covered with darts, which were sticking in his wounds, and his mind oppressed with anguish, sat down upon a stone, waiting for some of the enemy to put an end to his life. His face was so disfigured and stained with blood, that his very friends and domestics passing by, knew him not. At last Cornelius Lentulus, a young man of a patrician family, perceiving who he was, alighted from his horse, and offering it to him, desired him to get up and preserve a life so necessary to the safety of the commonwealth, which at this time would dearly want so good a consul.

But



But nothing could prevail upon him to accept of the offer; and notwithstanding the tears of Lentulus, he obliged him to remount his horse; then standing up, he gave him his hand, and commanded him to tell Fabius Maximus, that Paulus Æmilius had followed his directions to the very last, and had not in the least deviated from those measures which were agreed upon between them; but that he had been overpowered first by Varro, and then by Hannibal. Having dispatched Lentulus with this commission, he threw himself upon the swords of the enemy. In this battle it is reported, that 50,000 Romans were slain \*, and 4000 prisoners taken in the field, besides 10,000 that were taken after the battle in both the camps.

The friends of Hannibal earnestly persuaded him to follow his victory, to pursue the flying Romans, and enter with them into the gates of Rome; assuring him, that in five days time he might sup in the capitol: nor is it easy to imagine, what hindered him from it. I am apt to believe, that his hesitation and delay was rather owing to the interposition of some deity, than to any design of his own. It is reported, that on this occasion Pargas, a Carthaginian, said to him with indignation, *You know, Hannibal, how to get a victory, but not how to use it.* However, this victory produced a very favourable alteration in his affairs: for he, who hitherto had not one town or sea-port in his possession, who had nothing for the subsistence of his men but what he pillaged from day to day, who had no place of retreat, nor any sure means of supporting the war, but led his army from place to place like a vast band of robbers, now became master of the best provinces and towns in Italy, and

\* According to Livy, there were killed of the Romans only forty-thousand foot, and two thousand seven hundred horse. Polybius says that seventy thousand were killed. The loss of the Carthaginians did not amount to six thousand.

of Capua itself (next to Rome, the most flourishing and opulent city), all which came over to him, and submitted to his authority.

By great misfortunes not only the fidelity of a friend is proved, as Euripides says, but likewise the capacity of a general. For that which before the battle was esteemed cowardice and inactivity in Fabius, now seemed a more than human prudence, a divine wisdom and penetration, which could at so great a distance foresee such events as appeared almost incredible even to those who were witnesses of them. In him therefore the Romans place their only hope; his wisdom is the temple, the altar to which they fly for refuge in their calamity; and his counsels alone preserve them from dispersing, and deserting their city as in the time when the Gauls took possession of Rome. He, whom they esteemed fearful and pusillanimous, when they were, as they thought, in a prosperous condition, is now the only man, in this general dejection, who shows no fear, but walks about the streets with a steady serene countenance and mild address, checking their effeminate lamentations, and preventing them from associating in public to bewail their common distress. He caused the senate to meet, he heartened the magistrates, and was as the soul of their body, giving them life and motion. He placed guards at the gates of the city, to stop the frightened rabble from flying; he regulated and confined their mournings for their slain friends, both as to time and place; ordering that all ceremonies of this kind should be performed by each family in their own houses, and should continue no longer than thirty days, after which the city was to be free from all appearance of mourning. The feast of Ceres happening to fall within this time, it was thought best that the solemnity should be omitted \*; left

\* Livy only says that this festival was intermitted, or deferred; and

lest the small number and the sorrowful countenance of those who should celebrate it, might too much expose to the people the greatness of their loss; and also because the worship most acceptable to the gods, is that which comes from cheerful hearts: but as to those rites which were thought proper for appeasing their anger, and averting the effect of any inauspicious omens, they were by the direction of the augurs carefully performed. Fabius Pictor, a near kinsman to Maximus, was also sent to consult the oracle of Delphi; and about the same time, two Vestal virgins having been convicted of a criminal conversation with the other sex, the one killed herself, and the other, according to custom, was buried alive.

The moderation and generosity of the Roman people on this occasion appeared truly admirable. When the consul Varro returned home after his defeat, full of shame and confusion for the ruin which his misconduct had brought upon his country, the whole senate and people went out to meet him at the gates of the city, and received him with all the honour and respect due to his dignity. And silence being commanded, the magistrates and chief of the senate, and principally Fabius, commended him before the people, for not despairing of the safety of the commonwealth after so great a loss, but returning to take the government into his hands, to execute the laws, and comfort his fellow-citizens, as if he did not yet judge their affairs to be desperate \*.

When

and this was done not for a political, but a religious reason, because it was unlawful for persons in mourning to celebrate it; and at that time there was not one matron in the city who was not in mourning. It appears also from Valerius Maximus and Festus, that it was celebrated as soon as the time of mourning was expired.

\* Valerius Maximus adds to what Plutarch says here, that the senate and people offered Varro the dictatorship, but that he refused it, effacing by his modesty the disgrace of his late miscarriage and defeat.

Frontinus



## FABIUS MAXIMUS.

When word was brought to Rome that Hannibal after the battle had marched with his army into the remoter parts of Italy, the Romans began to recover their ancient vigour and resolution, and sent out an army under the command of Fabius Maximus, and Claudius Marcellus, both great generals, equal in fame, but very unlike in their dispositions. For Marcellus, as we have mentioned in his life, was an active, bold, vigorous, and enterprising man, and (as Homer describes his warriors) *fierce, and delighting in fights*. So that having to do with Hannibal, a man of his own temper, they never failed upon all occasions to come to an engagement. But Fabius adhered to his former principles, still persuaded, that by following close and not fighting him, Hannibal and his army would at last be tired out and consumed, like an able wrestler, who with too much exercise and toil grows languid and weak. Wherefore Posidonius tells us that the Romans called Marcellus their *sword*, and Fabius their *buckler*; and that the vigour of the one mixed with the steadiness of the other, made a happy compound very salutary to Rome. So that Hannibal found by experience, that encountering the one, he met with a rapid impetuous river, which drove him back, and still made some breach upon him; and by the other, though silently and quietly passing by him, he was insensibly washed away and consumed. At last he was brought to this extremity, that he dreaded Marcellus when he was in motion, and Fabius when he sat still. During the whole course of this war, he had still to do with these generals, either as prætors, proconsuls, or consuls; for each of them was five times consul.

Frontinus says, that Varro ever after suffered his beard and hair to grow; that he never eat his meals reclining on a bed, as was the custom in those days; and when the people were desirous to confer new dignities upon him, he constantly refused them, declaring the republic wanted the service of more successful magistrates.

But

But at last Marcellus fell into the snare which Hannibal had laid for him, and was killed in his fifth consulship. But his craft and subtilty was unsuccessful upon Fabius, who only once was in some danger of being surpris'd; for he had sent counterfeit letters to him from the principal inhabitants of Metapontum, wherein they engaged to deliver up their town, if he would come before it with his army: accordingly Fabius resolv'd to march to them with part of his army by night, but was prevented, only by consulting the flight of the birds, which he found to be inauspicious: and not long after, he discovered that those letters had been forged by Hannibal, who lay in ambush for him near the city. This perhaps we must rather attribute to the favour of the gods, than to the prudence of Fabius.

He thought that the best method to keep the allies firm to his interest, and to prevent the towns belonging to the Romans from revolting, was by mild and gentle treatment, and by not using rigour, or showing a suspicion upon every light suggestion. It is reported of him, that being informed that a certain Marsian in his army, who was one of the most considerable men among the allies both for his courage and nobility, had solicited some of the soldiers to desert, Fabius was so far from using severity against him, that he called for him, and told him, he was sensible of the wrong which had been done him, and that his merit and service had been neglected, which he said was a great fault in the commanders, who rewarded more by favour than by desert: *Therefore, whenever you are aggrieved,* said Fabius, *I shall take it ill at your hands, if you do not apply to me.* When he had said this, he gave him a fine horse, and some other valuable presents; and from that time no one showed more zeal and fidelity than this Marsian. Fabius thought, that if those who have the care of horses and dogs, endeavour

your by gentle usage to make them tractable and fit for service, rather than by cruelty and beating; much more should those who have the command of men, bring them to their duty by the mildest and tenderest methods; not treating them worse than gardeners do their wild plants, which, by care and good usage, lose the savageness of their nature, and bear excellent fruit.

At another time, some of his officers informed him, that one of their men very often quitted his post, and rambled out of the camp; he asked them, what kind of man he was: they all answered, that the whole army had not a better man; that he was a native of Lucania; and they related several brave actions which they had seen him perform. Immediately Fabius made a strict inquiry to find what it was that led him so often out of the camp: and at last he discovered, that he went every day to a considerable distance, and with great danger, to visit a young woman, with whom he was in love. Fabius gave orders to some of his men, to find out the woman, and secretly to convey her into his own tent; he then sent for the Lucanian, and calling him aside, told him that he very well knew how often he had lain at nights out of the camp, which was a capital transgression against military discipline and the Roman laws; but he knew also how brave he was, and the good services he had done, and therefore in consideration of them he was willing to forgive him his fault; but to keep him in order, he was resolved to commit him to the care of one who should be accountable for his good behaviour. Having said this, he produced the woman, and told the soldier, who was terrified and amazed at the adventure, *This is the person who must answer for you; and by your future behaviour we shall see whether your night-rambles were upon the account of love, or upon any other worse design.*

The city of Tarentum having been betrayed to



the enemy, Fabius recovered it in the following manner: A young Tarentine in the army, had a sister in Tarentum, who had an extraordinary affection for him. - He being informed that a certain Brutian, whom Hannibal had made governor of that garrison, was deeply in love with his sister, conceived hopes that he might possibly turn it to the advantage of the Romans. And having first communicated his design to Fabius, he went to Tarentum, pretending to be a deserter from the Roman army. At his first coming, the Brutian abstained from visiting his sister; for neither of them knew that the brother had notice of their amour. After some time the young Tarentine told his sister, that he heard that one of the principal officers of the garrison had made his addreses to her; therefore he desired her to tell him who it was; *for (said he) if he be a man of courage and reputation, it matters not what countryman he is; war removes all such distinctions. There is no disgrace in complying with necessity; on the contrary, we should esteem ourselves very fortunate, if at a time when force prevails over justice, what we are compelled to do is agreeable to our own inclinations.* Upon this the woman sent for the Brutian, and made him acquainted with her brother; who by employing his interest with his sister in behalf of her lover, and rendering her more favourable to him than she had been before, entirely gained the friendship of the Brutian; so that he found it no difficult matter to prevail upon this lover, who was of a mercenary disposition, to comply with his proposal of delivering up the town, by promising him great rewards from Fabius. This is the common tradition; though some relate the story otherwise, and say that this woman, by whom the Brutian was persuaded to betray the town, was not a native of Tarentum, but a Brutian; that she had been kept by Fabius as his concubine; and that being a countrywoman and an acquaintance of the Brutian governor,

nor, Fabius privately sent her to him to corrupt him.

Whilst these things were transacting, Fabius, in order to draw off Hannibal to a distance from the place, sent orders to the garrison in Rhegium, that they should ravage the country of the Brutians, lay siege to Caulonia, and attack the place with all possible vigour. These were a body of eight thousand men, made up partly of deserters, and partly of that infamous band of robbers which Marcellus brought out of Sicily \*; so that the loss of them would not be great, nor much lamented by the Romans. Fabius therefore threw out these men as a bait for Hannibal, to divert him from Tarentum. The design succeeded accordingly; for Hannibal marched with his forces to Caulonia; and in the mean time Fabius laid siege to Tarentum. The sixth day of the siege, the young Tarentine came by night to Fabius, and having well observed the place where the Brutian commander, according to agreement, was to let in the Romans, gave an account of the whole matter to him. But Fabius thought it not safe to rely wholly upon the treachery of the commander, but with part of his forces went to the place himself in great silence; while the rest of his army assaulted the town both by land and sea with a horrible clamour. Most of the Tarentines running to defend the town on that side where the attack was made, Fabius, upon a signal given by the Brutian commander, scaled the walls at the place designed, and entered the town without opposition.

Here we must confess, that Fabius cannot be acquitted of the charge of vanity; for that it might not appear to the world, that he had taken Tarentum by treachery, he commanded his men to put all the Brutians to the sword. But by this action,

\* Plutarch is here mistaken; these men were brought from Sicily, not by Marcellus, but by his colleague Lævinus.

he not only failed of removing this suspicion, but incurred besides the reproach of perfidy and inhumanity. Many of the Tarentines were also killed, and thirty thousand of them were sold for slaves. The army had the plunder of the town, and there were brought into the treasury three thousand talents. Whilst they were carrying off the spoils, the officer who took the inventory, asked what should be done with their gods, meaning the statues and pictures in the temples; Fabius answered, *Let us leave their angry gods to the Tarentines* \*. However, he carried away a Colossian statue of Hercules †, which he afterwards placed in the capitol, near an equestrian statue of himself in brass. Fabius showed on this occasion, that he was inferior to Marcellus, not only in a taste for the fine arts, but much more in mercy and humanity; as we have already observed in the life of Marcellus †.

When Hannibal had the news brought him that Tarentum was besieged, he marched with great diligence to relieve it; and being come within five miles, he was informed that the town was taken; which made him say, *that Rome had also a Hannibal*,

\* The beauty of this expression of Fabius will better appear when we consider that those gods of Tarentum were represented each in his armour, and in the attitude of a combatant, *suo quisque habitu in modo pugnantium formati*. Liv. Apollo, for instance, was launching his darts, and Jupiter hurling his thunder; on which circumstance is founded the epithet of *angry*, as if those gods had in reality fought for the Romans against their own devotees the Tarentines. At the same time this saying of Fabius contained in it very wholesome advice to the Romans, who were warned not to carry to Rome those useless ornaments of the conquered cities; as serving not only to give the people a taste of luxury and expense, but to awaken in the minds of the conquered subjects, who should behold them, a sense of their former calamities, and inspire them with envy, hatred, and revenge against the conquerors. This subject is very well handled in the ninth book of Polybius.

† Strabo in his 6th book makes mention of this particular, and adds that this statue was of brass, and was the work of Lysippus.

‡ For Marcellus, when he took Syracuse, brought from thence all the finest pictures and statues, and whatever else was curious and elegant.

and



and that Tarentum was lost by the same art by which he formerly got it. And being in private with some of his friends, he plainly told them that he always thought it difficult, but now he held it impossible, with the forces he had, to master Italy.

Upon this success, Fabius had a triumph decreed him at Rome, much more splendid than the former; for they looked upon him now as having evidently gained the superiority over Hannibal, whose schemes he defeated with the same ease that an able wrestler disengages himself from the hold of an antagonist who no longer retains his former vigour. For the army of Hannibal was at this time partly worn away with continual action, and partly enervated with opulence and luxury. Marcus Livius (who was governor of Tarentum when it was betrayed to Hannibal, and then retired into the castle, which he kept till the town was retaken) being envious of the honours which Fabius received, boasted in the senate, that he, not Fabius, was the cause of the recovery of Tarentum. Fabius replied laughing, *You say very true; for if you had not lost Tarentum, I had never recovered it* \*. Among other honours which the Romans paid to Fabius, they nominated his son consul for the next year. When he was entered upon his office, and was one day employed in some business relating to the war, his father, either by reason of age and infirmity, or perhaps out of design to try his son, came up to him on horseback. Whereupon the young consul presently bid one of his lictors command his father to a-

\* It is not likely that a man against whom an action lay for having suffered Tarentum to be taken by Hannibal, should be so hurried on by his ambition as to be capable of such an haughty expression. Livy's account is more probable; for he says that whilst the senate had it under consideration what course was to be taken with Livius, some of his friends who had undertaken his defence unwarily said, *the recovery of Tarentum was owing to Livius only*; and Fabius, in delivering his opinion, added, *It is confessed he was the cause that Tarentum was recovered to the Romans, for it could never have been retaken by us if it had not first been lost by him*.

light, and tell him that if he had any business with the consul, he should come on foot. The whole assembly was moved at this, and turned their eyes upon Fabius, by their silence, and by their looks expressing their resentment of the indignity that had been offered to a person so venerable for his age and his authority; but he instantly alighted from his horse, and with great speed came up and embraced the consul: *My son*, said he, *I applaud your sentiments and your behaviour. You have shown that you have a just sense of the dignity of your office, and of the greatness of the people whom you command. This was the way by which we and our forefathers advanced the glory of the commonwealth, by preferring that to our own fathers and children.*

And indeed it is reported, that the great-grandfather of our Fabius \*, who was undoubtedly the greatest man of Rome in his time, both in reputation and authority, who had been five times consul, and had been honoured with several triumphs for victories obtained by him, condescended to serve as lieutenant under his own son †, when consul in the expedition against the Samnites: and when afterwards his son had a triumph bestowed upon him for his good services, the old man followed his triumphal chariot on horseback as one of his attendants; and though he had absolute authority over his son, and was the greatest man in Rome, yet he gloried in showing his subjection to the laws and the magistrate. But these were not the only actions worthy of admiration, which he performed.

When Fabius Maximus lost his son, he bore the affliction with moderation like a wise man and a tender parent. And as it was the custom amongst

\* Fabius Rullus.

† This son was called Q. Fabius Gurgus: he had been before defeated by the Samnites, and would have been degraded, had not his father promised to attend him in his second expedition as his lieutenant.

the Romans, upon the death of any illustrious person, to have a funeral oration recited by some of the nearest relations, he himself performed that office. This oration he committed to writing, and afterwards made public.

After Publius Cornelius Scipio, who was sent proconsul into Spain, had driven the Carthaginians out of that province, having defeated them in many battles, and had reduced several towns and nations under the obedience of Rome, he was received at his return with a general joy and acclamation. Being elected consul, and knowing what high expectations the people had from him, he disdained to carry on the war against Hannibal in Italy; this he looked upon as an antiquated method, and worthy only of an old man. He therefore proposed no less a task to himself than to transfer the war to Carthage, and made use of all the credit and favour he had with the people to prevail upon them to second his design. Fabius \* on the other side opposed with all his might this undertaking of Scipio; alarming the minds of the people, and representing the extreme danger into which the commonwealth would be brought by following the counsels of this rash young man. His authority and persuasions prevailed with the senate to espouse his sentiments; but the common people thought that he envied the fame of Scipio, and that he was afraid lest if this young conqueror should perform any signal exploit, should put an end to the war, or even remove it out of Italy, he might be accused of timidity and negligence for having protracted it so many years.

To say the truth, when Fabius first opposed this project of Scipio, I believe he did it from a prudent regard to the public safety, and from an apprehension of the danger which the commonwealth might

\* This matter was thoroughly canvassed and debated in the senate. We find in Livy, what was said on the one side and the other by Fabius and Scipio. *Lib. xxviii,*



incur by such an enterprize; but I believe that ambition and envy of Scipio's rising glory made him the more violent in his opposition. For he applied himself to Crassus, the colleague of Scipio, and persuaded him not to yield that province to Scipio, but (if his inclinations were for that war) himself in person to lead the army to Carthage \*. He also hindered the giving money to Scipio for the war, who was forced to raise it upon his own credit and interest, and was supplied by the cities of Hetruria, which were wholly devoted to him. On the other side, Crassus would not stir against him, nor remove out of Italy, as being in his own nature an enemy to strife and contention, and also as having the care of religion, by his office of high priest. Wherefore Fabius tried other ways to break the design; he endeavoured to discourage those who voluntarily offered themselves to the service, and declaimed both in the senate and to the people, that Scipio did not only himself fly from Hannibal, but was desirous also to drain Italy of all its forces, and to lead away the youth of the country after him to a foreign war, leaving behind them their parents, wives, and children, a defenceless prey to a victorious enemy at their doors. With this he so terrified the people, that at last they would only allow to Scipio for the war, the legions which were in Sicily, and three hundred of those men who had so bravely served him in Spain. In these transactions hitherto Fabius only seemed to follow the dictates of his own wary temper.

But, after Scipio was gone over into Africa, when the Romans received the news of his wonderful exploits and victories, of which the fame was confirmed by the spoils he sent home; when they heard of a Numidian king taken prisoner, of a vast

\* This Crassus could not do, for he was at that time high priest, and consequently his character as such would not suffer him to go out of Italy.

slaughter made of the enemy, of two camps burnt and destroyed, and in them a great quantity of arms and horses; when the Carthaginians had sent orders to Hannibal to quit his fruitless expedition in Italy, and return to defend his own country; and when the whole people of Rome joined in admiring and extolling the actions of Scipio; even then did Fabius contend, that a successor should be sent in his place, alleging for it only the vulgar trivial pretence of the mutability of fortune, as if she would be weary of long favouring the same person. But by this behaviour he gave great offence to the people, who looked upon it as the effect of a morose and envious disposition, or thought at least that age had rendered him timorous and desponding, and filled him with excessive apprehensions of the power of Hannibal. Nay after Hannibal had embarked with his army and left Italy, Fabius still opposed and disturbed the universal joy of Rome, by telling the people that the commonwealth was never more in danger than now, and that Hannibal was a more dreadful enemy under the walls of Carthage, than ever he had been in Italy; that it would be fatal to Rome whenever Scipio should encounter his victorious army, still warm with the blood of so many Roman generals, dictators, and consuls. The people were startled with these declamations, and were brought to believe, that the further off Hannibal was, the nearer was their danger. But when Scipio afterwards had defeated Hannibal, and humbled the pride of Carthage, the Romans were transported with joy beyond their utmost hopes; and the empire which had been long shaken by these dangerous storms, was restored to its former security and glory.

But Fabius Maximus lived not to see the prosperous end of this war, and the final overthrow of Hannibal, nor to rejoice in the well-established happiness and security of the commonwealth; for about

bout the time that Hannibal left Italy, he fell sick and died. Epaminondas, as we find in the history of Thebes, died so poor that he was buried at the public charge; for, it is said, nothing was found in his house but an iron spit \*. Fabius indeed was not buried at the public charge, but every citizen contributed a small piece of money towards the expense of his funeral, not because he was poor, but to show that they respected him as the father of the people; which made his death no less honourable than his life.

---

### The Comparison of FABIVS with PERICLES.

SUCH were the lives of these two persons, so illustrious for their civil and military endowments: let us first compare them in their military capacity. Pericles presided in his commonwealth, when it was in a most flourishing and opulent condition, and in the height of its power and success; so that he seemed to stand rather supported by, than supporting, the fortune of his country. But the business of Fabius, who undertook the government in the worst and most difficult times, was not to preserve and maintain the well-established felicity of a prosperous state, but to raise and uphold a sinking and ruinous commonwealth. Besides the victories of Cimon, of Myronides, and Leocrates, with those many famous exploits of Tolmidas, rather furnished Pericles with an occasion of entertaining the people at home with feasts and games, than laid him under a necessity of defending his country by arms. Whereas Fabius, when he took upon him the government, had the

\* Xylander is of opinion that the word *obeliscus* in this place does not signify a *spit*, but a piece of money; for that money anciently was made in a pyramidical form, appears from a passage in the life of Lyfander.



frightful object before his eyes, of Roman armies destroyed, of their generals and consuls slain, of all the countries round strowed with the dead bodies, and the rivers stained with the blood of his fellow-citizens; and yet by his mature and prudent counsels, and the firmness of his resolution, he sustained the falling commonwealth, notwithstanding it had been brought so near its ruin by the rashness of other commanders. Perhaps it may be more easy to govern a city broken and tamed with calamities and adversity, and compelled to obey by danger and necessity, than to rule a people pampered and resty with long prosperity, as the Athenians were when Pericles held the reins of government. But then, not to be daunted nor discomposed by the vast weight of calamities under which the people of Rome groaned at that time, proves the invincible courage and magnanimity of Fabius.

We may set Tarentum retaken, against Samos won by Pericles; and with the conquest of Æubœa we may put in balance the towns of Campania regained by Fabius; as for Capua, that was afterwards subdued by the consuls Fulvius and Appius. I do not find that Fabius won any set battle, but that against the Ligurians, for which he had his first triumph; whereas Pericles erected nine trophies for as many victories obtained by land and by sea. But no action of Pericles can be compared to that memorable rescue of Minucius, when Fabius redeemed both him and his army from utter destruction; an action, which comprehends the height of valour, of conduct, and humanity. On the other side, it does not appear, that Pericles was ever so over-reached as Fabius was by Hannibal's stratagem of the oxen; when, in the valley of Casilinum, Hannibal was shut up without any possibility of forcing his way out, and yet was suffered to escape in the night; and when day was come, worsted the enemy, who had him before at his mercy.

It

It is the part of a good general, not only to provide for, and judge well of the present, but also to have a clear foresight of things to come. In this Pericles excelled; for he saw and foretold to the Athenians, what ruin their war would bring upon them, by their grasping more than they were able to manage. But the expedition of Scipio into Africa, undertaken contrary to the advice of Fabius, was attended with the greatest success; and that not through any unexpected turn of fortune, but merely by the valour and conduct of the commander. So that the misfortunes of the Athenians showed the sagacity of Pericles; and the success of the Romans proved how erroneous the judgment of Fabius had been. And indeed, to lose an advantage through diffidence, is no less blameable in a general, than to fall into danger for want of foresight: for both these faults, though of a contrary nature, spring from the same root, which is want of judgment and experience.

And for their civil policy; it is imputed to Pericles, that he was a lover of war, and that no terms of peace offered by the Lacedæmonians, would content him. Nor do I think that Fabius would ever have yielded any thing to the Carthaginians, but would rather have hazarded all, than lessened the empire of Rome. The mildness of Fabius towards his colleague Minucius sets in a very disadvantageous light the conduct of Pericles in his eager prosecution of Cimon and Thucydides, who were good men and friends to the nobility, but by his practices were banished. The authority of Pericles in Athens was much greater than that of Fabius in Rome; for which reason it was more easy for him to prevent the miscarriages commonly arising from the weakness and insufficiency of officers, since he had got the sole nomination and management of them; Tolmidas only, contrary to his orders, unadvisedly fought with the Bæotians, and was defeated and slain:

slain : whereas Fabius though too prudent to commit errors himself, yet had not sufficient power to prevent the miscarriages of others. But it had been happy for the Romans if his authority had been greater ; for then we may presume, their disasters had been fewer.

As to their liberality and public spirit, Pericles showed it in never taking any gifts, and Fabius in giving his own money to ransom his soldiers ; though the sum did not exceed six talents \*. Notwithstanding Pericles had innumerable presents offered him from kings, and from the allies of the Athenians, yet no man was ever more free from corruption. And for the beauty and magnificence of temples and public edifices, with which he adorned his country, it must be confessed, that all the ornaments and structures of Rome, to the time of the Cæsars, were not to be compared, either in greatness of design, or of expense, with those which Pericles only erected at Athens.

\* The copy is probably erroneous in this place. If a computation be made from the number of captives and the price of each mentioned by Plutarch in the life of Fabius, the sum will amount to above ten talents.

Vol. II.

I

THE



T H E  
L I F E  
O F  
A L C I B I A D E S.

**A**lcibiades, as it is supposed, was anciently descended from Euryfaces the son of Ajax, by his father's side, and by his mother's side from Alcmeon; for Dinomache, his mother, was the daughter of Megacles. His father Clinias, having fitted out a galley at his own expense, gained great honour in the sea-fight near Artemisium, and was afterwards slain in the battle of Coronea, fighting against the Boeotians. Pericles and Aripbron, the sons of Xanthippus, being nearly related to Alcibiades, were his guardians. It is said, and not untruly, that the kindness and friendship which Socrates showed to him, very much contributed to his fame. Hence it is, that though we have not an account from any writer, who was the mother of Nicias or Demosthenes, of Lamachus or Phormio, of Thrasylulus or Theramenes, notwithstanding they were all of them illustrious persons, and his contemporaries; yet we know even the nurse of Alcibiades, that her country was Lacedæmon, and her name, *Amyclas*; and that Zopyrus was his schoolmaster; the one being recorded by Antisthenes, and the other by Plato.

It is not perhaps material to say any thing of the beauty of Alcibiades, only that it lasted with him in all the ages of his life, in his infancy, in his youth,

youth, and in his manhood ; and thereby rendered him lovely and agreeable to every one. For though it is not universally true what Euripides says, that

*Of all fair things the autumn is most fair ;*

yet this happened to Alcibiades, amongst a few others, by reason of his happy constitution and the natural vigour of his body. It is said, that his lisping, when he spoke, became him well, and gave a grace to his pronounciation. Aristophanes takes notice, that he lisped, in those verses wherein he ridicules Theorus, because Alcibiades, speaking of him, instead of *Corax*, pronounced *Colax*\* ; from whence the poet takes occasion to observe,

*How very luckily he lisp'd the truth.*

Archippus also makes mention of it, thus reflecting upon the son of Alcibiades.

*Proud his luxurious fire to imitate,  
See the vain youth affect the saunt'ring gait,  
The loosely-flowing robe, the lisping tongue,  
And head disjointed on the shoulder hung.*

His manners were not uniform ; nor is it strange that they varied according to the many and wonderful vicissitudes of his fortune. All his passions were naturally strong ; but the strongest of them was ambition, and desire of superiority : this appeared by several things related of him, whilst he was a child. Once being hard pressed in wrestling, and fearing to be thrown, he got the hand of the person who strove with him, to his mouth, and bit it with all his force ; his adversary loosed his hold presently, and said, *Thou bitest, Alcibiades, like a woman.* No, replied he, *I bite like a lion.* Another time as he was playing with dice in the street, be-

\* Alcibiades meant to call Theorus *corax*, or *raven*, on account of his avarice and rapacity ; but by pronouncing it *colax*, he called him *flatterer*, an appellation which he deserved equally with the former.

ing then but a boy, a loaded cart came that way, when it was his turn to throw; at first he called to the driver to stop, because he was to throw in the way over which the cart was to pass; the rude fellow did not hearken to him, but drove on still; and when the rest of the boys divided and gave way, Alcibiades threw himself on his face before the cart, and stretching himself out, bid the carter drive on, if he would: this so startled the man, that he put back his horses, while all that saw it were terrified, and crying out, ran to assist Alcibiades. When he began to study, he obeyed all his other masters with great respect, but refused to learn to play upon the flute, as an ungraceful thing, and not becoming a gentleman; for he would say, *To play on the lute or harp does not disorder the posture of the body, or the air of the face; but a man is hardly to be known by his most intimate friends when he plays on the flute. Besides, he who plays on the harp, may discourse or sing at the same time; but the flute does so stop up the mouth, that the voice is intercepted, and all speech taken away. Therefore,* said he, *let the Theban youths pipe, because they know not how to discourse; but we Athenians (as our ancestors have told us) have Minerva for our patroness, and Apollo for our protector, one of whom threw away the flute, and the other stripped off his skin who played upon it.* Thus partly by raillery, and partly by argument, Alcibiades not only kept himself, but others from learning to play upon that instrument; for it presently became the talk of the young gentlemen, that Alcibiades, with good reason, despised the art of playing on the flute, and ridiculed those who studied it. Whereupon it quickly ceased to be reckoned a liberal accomplishment, and was universally exploded.

It is related in the invective which Antiphon wrote against Alcibiades, that once when he was a boy, he ran away from home, and fled to the house of Democrates, one of his lovers, and that Aripheon would have



Have caused proclamation to be made for him, had not Pericles diverted him from it, by saying, *That if he were dead, the proclaiming of him could only cause it to be discovered one day sooner; and if he were safe, it would be a reproach to him whilst he lived.* Antiphon also says, that in Syburtius's school, or place of exercises, he slew one of his own servants with the blow of a staff. But it is unreasonable to give credit to all that is objected by an enemy, who makes profession of his design to defame him.

It was manifest, that the many persons of quality, who were continually waiting upon him, and making their court to him, were surpris'd and captivated by his extraordinary beauty only. But the affection which Socrates express'd for Alcibiades, was a great evidence of his virtue and good disposition, which Socrates perceived to shine through the beauty of his person; and fearing lest his wealth and quality, and the great number both of strangers and Athenians, who flattered and caress'd him, might at last corrupt him, he therefore resolv'd to interpose and preserve so hopeful a plant from perishing in the flower, and before its fruit came to perfection. For never did fortune surround and inclose a man with so many of those things which we vulgarly call *good*, and thereby render him inaccessible to the remonstrances of reason and philosophy, as she did Alcibiades; who from the beginning was softened by the flatteries of those who convers'd with him, and hindered from hearkening to such as would advise or instruct him. Yet such was the happiness of his genius, that he discern'd Socrates from the rest, and admitted him, whilst he drove away the wealthy and the noble who made court to him; and in a little time they grew into a familiarity. When Alcibiades observ'd that his discourses aimed not at any effeminate pleasures of love, nor sought any thing wanton or dishonest;

but laid open to him the imperfections of his mind, and repressed his vain and foolish arrogance ;

*Then like the craven cock he hung his wings,*

esteeming these endeavours of Socrates, as means which the gods used for the instruction and preservation of youth. So that he began to think meanly of himself, and to admire Socrates, to be pleased with his kindness, and to stand in awe of his virtue ; and imperceptibly contracted such a love for him as tended to secure him from vicious and dishonourable love. So that all men wondered at Alcibiades, when they saw Socrates and him eat together, perform their exercises together, and lodge in the same tent ; whilst he was reserved and rough to all others who made their addresses to him, and behaved with great insolence to some of them ; as in particular to Anytus the son of Anthemion, one who was very fond of him, and invited him to an entertainment which he had prepared for some strangers : Alcibiades refused the invitation ; but having drank to excess at his own house with some of his companions, he went thither to play some frolic ; and as he stood at the door of the room where the guests were entertained, and perceived the tables to be covered with vessels of gold and silver, he commanded his servants to take away the one half of them, and carry them to his own house \* ; and then disdaining so much as to enter into the room himself, as soon as he had done this,

\* Athenæus tells this story in a manner more advantageous to Alcibiades. He says, that Alcibiades going in masquerade to Anytus's house with a friend of his called *Thrasyllus*, who was but in mean circumstances, and observing the side-board well stored with plate of gold as well as silver ; he went up to it, and drank Thrasyllus's health, and when he had done, he ordered his slaves that attended him to take half of what they saw in the buffet, and carry it to Thrasyllus's house. He took this plate from one of his lovers who was wealthy, to bestow it on another who was indigent, without touching any of it himself.

he went away. The company was extremely offended at the action, and said, he behaved rudely and insolently towards Anytus: but Anytus made answer, that he had used him kindly and with great humanity, in that he left him part, when he might have taken all. He behaved in the same manner to all others who courted him, except only one stranger, who, as it is reported, having but a small estate, sold it all for about a hundred staters, which he presented to Alcibiades, and besought him to accept it: Alcibiades smiling, and pleased at the thing, invited him to supper, and, after a very kind entertainment, gave him his gold again, withal requiring him not to fail to be present the next day, when the public revenue was offered to farm, and to outbid all others. The man would have excused himself, because the farm was so great, and would be let for many talents; but Alcibiades, who had at that time a private pique against the old farmers, threatened to have him beaten if he refused. The next morning the stranger coming to the market-place, offered a talent more than the old rent: the farmers were enraged at him, and consulting together, called upon him to name such as would be sureties for him, concluding that he could find none. The poor man being startled at the proposal, was going to retire; but Alcibiades standing at a distance, cried out to the magistrates, *Set my name down, he is a friend of mine, and I will undertake for him.* When the old farmers heard this, they were in the utmost perplexity; for their way was, with the profits of the present year to pay the rent of the year preceding; so that not seeing any other way to extricate themselves out of the difficulty, they began to entreat the stranger, and offered him a sum of money. Alcibiades would not suffer him to accept of less than a talent; but when that was paid down, he com-  
manded



manded him to relinquish the bargain, having by this device relieved his necessity.

Though Socrates had many and powerful rivals, yet such was the natural good disposition of Alcibiades, that he was most successful with him. His discourses affected him to that degree, as not only to draw tears from his eyes, but to change his very soul. Yet sometimes he would abandon himself to flatterers, when they proposed to him varieties of pleasure, and would desert Socrates; who then would pursue him, as if he had been a fugitive slave. The truth is, Alcibiades despised all others, and revered and stood in awe of him alone. And therefore it was that Cleanthes said, he had given his ears to Socrates, but to his rivals other parts of his body, with which Socrates would not meddle. For Alcibiades was certainly very much addicted to pleasures; and that which Thucydides says concerning his excesses in his course of living, gives occasion to believe so. But those who endeavoured to corrupt Alcibiades, took advantage chiefly of his vanity and ambition, and incited him to undertake unseasonably great things, persuading him, that as soon as he began to concern himself in public affairs, he would not only obscure the rest of the generals and statesmen, but exceed the authority and the reputation which Pericles himself had gained in Greece. But in the same manner as iron, which is softened by the fire, is again hardened and contracted by the cold; so as often as Socrates observed Alcibiades to be misled by the luxury or pride, he reduced and corrected him by his discourses, and made him humble and modest, by showing him in how many things he was deficient, and how very far he was from perfection in virtue.

When he was past his childhood, he went once to a grammar-school, and asked the master for one of Homer's books; and, he making answer that he had nothing of Homer's, Alcibiades gave him a blow

blow with his fist, and went away. Another schoolmaster telling him that he had Homer corrected by himself; *How!* said Alcibiades, *and do you employ your time in teaching children to read? You who are able to amend Homer, may well undertake to instruct men.* Being once desirous to speak with Pericles, he went to his house, and was told there, that he was not at leisure, but busied in considering how to give up his accounts to the Athenians. Alcibiades, as he went away, said, *It were better for him to consider how he might avoid giving up any accounts at all.*

Whilst he was very young, he was a soldier in the expedition against Potidæa, where Socrates lodged in the same tent with him, and was his companion in every engagement. Once there happened a sharp skirmish, wherein they both behaved with much bravery; but Alcibiades receiving a wound there, Socrates threw himself before him, to defend him, and most manifestly saved him and his arms from the enemy, and therefore justly might have challenged the prize of valour. But the generals appearing desirous to adjudge the honour to Alcibiades, because of his quality, Socrates, who was willing to increase his thirst after glory, was the first who gave evidence for him, and pressed them to crown him, and to decree to him the complete suit of armour. Afterwards in the battle of Delium, when the Athenians were routed, and Socrates, with a few others, was retreating on foot, Alcibiades, who was on horseback, observing it, would not pass on, but staid to shelter him from the danger, and brought him safe off, though the enemy pressed hard upon them, and cut off many of the party. But this happened some time after \*.

\* It was eight years after. For the action at Potidæa happened in the first year of the eighty-seventh Olympiad, and that at Delium the first year of the eighty-ninth.

He gave a box on the ear to Hipponicus, the father of Callias, a person of great credit and authority, both on account of his birth and riches. And this he did unprovoked by any passion or quarrel between them, but only because in a frolic he had agreed with his companions to do it. All men were justly offended at this insolence, when it was known through the city : but early the next morning Alcibiades went to his house, and knocked at the door, and being admitted to him, stripped off his garment, and presenting his naked body, desired him to beat and chastise him as he pleased. Upon this Hipponicus forgot all his resentment, and not only pardoned him, but soon after gave him his daughter Hipparete in marriage. Some say, that it was not Hipponicus, but his son Callias, who gave Hipparete to Alcibiades, together with a portion of ten talents ; and that afterwards, when she had a child, Alcibiades forced him to give ten talents more, upon pretence that such was the agreement if she brought him any children. Callias, however, being afraid of the contrivances of Alcibiades, in a full assembly of the people, declared, that if he should happen to die without children, Alcibiades should inherit his house and all his goods. Hipparete was a virtuous lady, and fond of her husband ; but at last growing impatient of the injuries done to her marriage-bed, by his continual entertaining of courtezans, as well strangers as Athenians, she left him, and retired to her brother's house. Alcibiades seemed not at all concerned at it, and lived on still in the same luxury. The law requiring that she should deliver to the Archon in person, and not by proxy, the instrument whereby she sought a divorce ; when, in obedience to the law, she presented herself before him to perform this, Alcibiades came in, took her away by force, and carried her home through the market-place, no one daring to oppose him,



him, nor to take her from him. And she continued with him till her death, which happened not long after, when Alcibiades made his voyage to Ephesus. Nor was this violence to be thought so very enormous or inhuman; for the law, in making her who desires to be divorced appear in public, seems to design to give her husband an opportunity of meeting with her, and of endeavouring to retain her.

Alcibiades had a very large and beautiful dog which cost him seventy minæ; his tail, which was his principal ornament, he caused to be cut off; and his acquaintance chiding him for it, and telling him that all Athens was sorry for the dog, and blamed him for this action; he laughed, and said, *It has happened then as I desired; for I would have the Athenians entertain themselves with the discourse of this, lest they should be talking something worse of me.*

It is said, that the first time he came into the assembly, was when a largess of money was given to the people. This was not done by design, but as he passed along he heard a great noise in the assembly, and inquiring the cause, and having learned that there was a donative made to the people, he went in amongst them, and gave money also. The multitude thereupon applauding him, and shouting, he was so transported at it, that he forgot a quail \* which he had under his robe, and the bird being frightened with the noise, flew away:

\* The men of pleasure in those times were very fond of breeding quails, as appears from several passages in the ancients, particularly in a comedy of Eupolis cited by Athenæus. Alcibiades had the same taste that way with the rest; which drew upon him that severe piece of raillery from Socrates, who when he had made it appear in the first Alcibiades of Plato, that the way to excel, and have the chief command among the Athenians, was to study to surpass the generals of their enemies in ability and courage, and when he had brought Alcibiades to acknowledge the truth of it, replied with a mortifying irony, *No, no, my dear Alcibiades, your only study is how to surpass Midias in the art of breeding quails.*

thereupon

thereupon the people made louder acclamations than before, and many of them rose up to pursue the bird; but one Antiochus, a pilot, caught it, and restored it to him, for which he was ever after very dear to Alcibiades \*.

He had great advantages for introducing himself into the management of affairs; his noble birth, his riches, the personal courage he had shown in divers battles, and the multitude of his friends and dependents. But, above all the rest, he chose to make himself considerable to the people by his eloquence. That he was a master in the art of speaking, the comic poets bear him witness; and Demosthenes, the most eloquent of men, in his oration against Midias, allows that Alcibiades, among other perfections, was an excellent orator. And if we give credit to Theophrastus, who of all philosophers was the most curious inquirer, and the most faithful relater, he says, that Alcibiades was peculiarly happy at inventing things proper to be said upon every occasion. Nor did he consider the things only which ought to be said, but also what words and what expressions were to be used; and when those did not readily occur, he would often pause in the middle of his discourse, and continue silent till he could recollect the words which he wanted.

His expenses in the number of horses and chariots which he kept for the public games, were very extraordinary: for never any one besides himself, either a private person or a king, sent seven chariots to the Olympic games. He carried away at once the first, the second, and the fourth prize, as Thucydides says, or the third, as Euripides relates it; wherein he surpassed all that ever contend-

\* Inasmuch that he intrusted him with the command of the fleet in his absence, as we shall soon learn from Plutarch, which had like to have been very fatal to the Athenians, for he was beaten.

ed in that kind. Euripides celebrates his success in this manner :

*Thee, lovely son of Clinias, will I sing,  
Thy triumphs down to future ages bring.  
Thou, pride of Greece ! which never saw till now  
So many crowns adorn one conqu'ring brow.  
With how much ease the threefold prize he gains,  
And smiles to see from far his rivals pains ;  
Their chariots lagging on the distant plains !  
His temples thrice the willing judges crown,  
And gen'ral shouts do the just sentence own.*

The emulation which several cities of Greece expressed in the presents which they made to him, rendered his success the more illustrious. The Ephesians erected a tent for him, adorned magnificently ; the city of Chios furnished him with provender for his horses, and with a great number of beasts for sacrifice ; and the Lesbians sent him wine and other provisions for the many great entertainments which he made \*. Yet, in the midst of all this, he escaped not without censure, occasioned either by the malice of his enemies, or by his own misconduct. For it is said, that one Diomedes, an Athenian, a good man, and a friend to Alcibiades, passionately desiring to obtain the victory at the Olympic games, and having heard much

\* Antisthenes, one of Socrates's disciples, writes, that Chios fed his horse, and Cyzicus provided his victims. The passage is very remarkable ; for it appears by it, that this was done not only when Alcibiades went to the Olympic games, but likewise in all his warlike expeditions and in all his travels. " Whenever," says he, " Alcibiades travelled, four cities of the allies ministered to him as his handmaids. Ephesus furnished him with tents as sumptuous as those of the Persians ; Chios found provender for his horses ; Cyzicus supplied him with victims, and provisions for his table ; and Lesbos with wine, and all other necessaries for his family." None but opulent cities were able to answer such an expense : for at that time, when Alcibiades obtained the first, second, and third prize in the Olympic games, after he had performed a very costly sacrifice to Jupiter, he entertained at a magnificent repast that innumerable company that had assisted at the games.



of a chariot which belonged to the state at Argos, where he had observed that Alcibiades had great power and many friends, he prevailed with him to buy the chariot for him. Alcibiades did indeed buy it, but then claimed it for his own, leaving Diomedes to rage at him, and to call upon gods and men to bear witness of the injustice. There was a suit at law commenced upon this occasion; and there is yet extant an oration concerning a chariot, written by Isocrates in defence of Alcibiades, then a youth. But there the plaintiff in the action is named *Tifias*, and not *Diomedes*.

As soon as he applied himself to the affairs of government, which was when he was very young, he quickly lessened the credit of all who pretended to lead the people, except Phœax, the son of Erasistratus, and Nicias, the son of Niceratus, who alone durst contend with him. Nicias was advanced in years, and esteemed an excellent general; but Phœax as well as Alcibiades was but beginning to grow in reputation. He was descended of noble ancestors, but was inferior to Alcibiades, as in many other things, so principally in eloquence. He had an easy persuasive manner of speaking in private conversation, but could not maintain a debate before the people; or, as Eupolis said of him, *he could talk well, but was not a good orator*. There is extant an oration written against Phœax and Alcibiades, wherein, amongst other things, it is said, that Alcibiades daily used at his table many gold and silver vessels, which belonged to the commonwealth, as if they had been his own.

There was one Hyperbolus, of the ward of the Perithoides, (whom Thucydides mentions as a very bad man), who furnished matter of satire to all the writers of comedy in that age. But he was unconcerned at the worst things they could say, and being careless of glory, he was also insensible of shame. There are some who call this boldness and courage, where-

as

as it is indeed impudence and madness. He was liked by nobody; yet the people made a frequent use of him, when they had a mind to disgrace or calumniate any persons in authority. At this time, the people by his persuasions were ready to proceed to pronounce the sentence of ten years banishment, which they called *Ostracism*. This was a way they made use of to depress and drive out of the city such persons as exceeded the rest in credit and power, therein consulting their envy rather than their fear. And when at this time there was no doubt, but that the ostracism would fall upon one of those three, Alcibiades contrived to unite their several factions; and communicating his project to Nicias, he turned the sentence upon Hyperbolus himself. Others say, that it was not with Nicias but Phœax that he consulted; and that, by the help of his party, he procured the banishment of Hyperbolus himself, when he suspected nothing less. For never any mean or obscure person fell under that punishment before that time; which gave occasion to Plato the comic poet, to speak thus of Hyperbolus:

*His crimes indeed deserv'd the fate he bore,  
 Condemn'd to wander from his native shore;  
 Yet sure, to such a base degenerate slave  
 The shell not punishment, but honour gave.  
 That mark for dangerous eminence design'd,  
 Ill suits a wretch of such a growling mind.*

But we have in another place given a fuller account of all that history has delivered down to us of this matter \*.

Alcibiades was not less disturbed at the reputation which Nicias had gained amongst the enemies of Athens, than at the honours which the Athenians themselves paid to him. For though the rights of hospitality had long subsisted between the

\* In the lives of Aristides and Nicias.

family of Alcibiades and the Lacedæmonians, and though he took particular care of such of them as were made prisoners at the fort of Pylos; yet after they had obtained a peace and the restitution of the captives by the procurement of Nicias, they began to respect him above all others. And it was commonly said in Greece, that the war was begun by Pericles, and that Nicias made an end of it; and therefore this peace, as being his work, was by most men called the *Nician peace*. Alcibiades was extremely troubled at this, and, out of envy to Nicias, set himself to break the league. First therefore observing, that the Argives, out of jealousy and hatred of the Lacedæmonians, sought for an occasion to break with them, he gave them a secret assurance of a league offensive and defensive with Athens. And transacting, as well in person as by letters, with those who had most authority amongst the people, he encouraged them neither to fear the Lacedæmonians, nor submit to them, but to betake themselves to the Athenians, who, if they would wait but a little while, would repent of the peace, and soon put an end to it. And afterwards, when the Lacedæmonians had made a league with the Bœotians, and had not delivered up Panactum to the Athenians entire, as they ought to have done by the treaty, but defaced and ruined, which gave great offence to the people of Athens, Alcibiades laid hold of that opportunity to exasperate them more highly. He exclaimed fiercely against Nicias, and accused him of many things which seemed probable enough; as that, when he was general, he would not seize upon those men who were deserted by the enemy's army, and left in the isle of Sphacteria \*; and

\* After the Lacedæmonians had lost the fortress of Pylos in Messenia, they left in the isle of Sphacteria, which lay over-against it at the mouth of the haven, a garrison of 320 men, besides Helots, under the command of Epitadas the son of Molobrus. Nicias neglected making himself master of that isle during the time he was general; but  
Clean,



and that when they were afterwards made prisoners by others, he procured their release, and sent them back, only that he might ingratiate himself with the Lacedæmonians; that he would not make use of his credit with them, to prevent their entering into this confederacy with the Bœotians and Corinthians; and yet, on the other side, when any of the Grecians were inclined to enter into an alliance with the Athenians, he hindered the league from being formed, if the Lacedæmonians were not pleased with it.

It happened at the very time when Nicias was by these arts brought into disgrace with the people, that ambassadors arrived from Lacedæmon, who, at their first coming, said what seemed very satisfactory, declaring, that they had full power to adjust all their differences upon equal terms. The council received their propositions, and the people was to assemble on the morrow to give them audience. Alcibiadès was very apprehensive of this \*, and contrived to have a secret conference with the ambassadors. When they were met, he said, *What is it you intend, Spartans? Can you be ignorant, that the council always behave with moderation and respect towards ambassadors, but that the people are haughty, and affect great things? So that if you let them know what full powers your commission gives you, they will press you to yield to unreasonable conditions. Quit therefore this indiscreet method, if you expect to obtain equal terms from the Athenians, and would not have things extorted from you contrary to your inclination; treat with the people*

Cleon, who, in conjunction with Demesthenes, succeeded him in the command of the army, got possession after a long dispute, wherein several of the garrison were slain, and the rest made prisoners, and sent to Athens. Among those prisoners, were 120 Spartans, whom Nicias got afterwards to be released.

\* He was afraid lest the people should come to an agreement with the Lacedæmonians, and reject the Argive alliance, which would have broken all his measures.

*without owning that you are plenipotentaries, and I will be ready to assist you, as being very zealous to serve the Lacedæmonians.* When he had said thus, he gave them his oath for the performance of what he promised; and by this way drew them from Nicias, to rely entirely upon himself, and to admire him as a person extraordinary for wisdom and dexterity in affairs. The next day, when the people were assembled, and the ambassadors introduced, Alcibiades with great civility demanded of them with what powers they were come? They answered, that they were not come as plenipotentaries. Instantly upon that, Alcibiades, with a loud voice, (as though he had received, and not done the wrong), began to call them faithless and inconstant, and to show, that such men could not possibly come with a purpose to say or do any thing that was sincere. The council was highly incensed, the people were in a rage; and Nicias, who knew nothing of the deceit and the imposture, was in the greatest confusion imaginable, being equally surprised and ashamed at such a change in the men. So that the Lacedæmonian ambassadors were utterly rejected, and Alcibiades was declared general, who presently drew the Argives, the Elians, and those of Mantinea, into a confederacy with the Athenians.

No man commended the method by which Alcibiades effected all this; yet it was a great stroke of politics, thus to divide and shake almost all Peloponnesus, and to bring together so many men in arms against the Lacedæmonians in one day before Mantinea\*; thereby removing the war and the danger so far from the frontier of the Athenians, that even success would profit the enemy but little, should they be conquerors; whereas

\* That battle was fought near three years after the conclusion of the treaty with Argos.

if they were defeated, Sparta itself was hardly safe.

After this battle at Mantinea, the officers of the army of the Argives attempted to destroy the popular government in Argos, and make themselves masters of the city; and this they effected by the assistance of the Lacedæmonians \*. But the people took arms again; and having gained some advantage, Alcibiades came to their aid, and made their victory complete. Then he persuaded them to build long walls, and by that means to join their city to the sea, that so at all times they might more securely receive succour from the Athenians. To this purpose he procured them many masons and stone-cutters from Athens, and in all things showed the greatest zeal for their service, and thereby gained no less honour and power to himself, than to the commonwealth of Athens. He also persuaded the Patrensiens to join their city to the sea, by lengthening their walls; and when they were warned, that the Athenians would swallow them up at last, Alcibiades answered, *Possibly it may be so, but it will be by little and little, and beginning at the feet; whereas the Lacedæmonians will begin at the head, and devour you all at once.* He also advised the Athenians to exercise their power at land, and often put the young men in mind of the oath which they had taken in the temple of Agraulos †, and excited

\* They took advantage of the consternation the people of Argos were in after the loss of that battle; for they justly concluded that they would be so much dispirited as not to be in a condition to oppose them. The Lacedæmonians supported them in their undertaking, from a persuasion that they themselves should soon be masters of Argos, if they could once abolish the popular government, and establish an aristocracy.

† Cecrops had three daughters, Agraulos, Herse, and Pandrosos. During the war between the Athenians and the inhabitants of Eleusis, the Athenians consulted the oracle of Apollo, who answered that the event would be unprosperous to them, unless some one among them devoted himself for his country. As soon as this answer was made public, Agraulos flung herself headlong from the citadel, and by her



cited them to the effectual performance of it; for there they were wont to swear, that they would repute wheat and barley, and vines and olives to be the limits of Attica; by which they were taught to claim a title to all lands that were manured and fruitful.

But to these great political talents, to this wisdom and eloquence, he joined exorbitant luxury in his eating and drinking and amours, vast profusion in his expenses, and an excessive gaiety and effeminacy in his dress. He wore a long purple robe, which dragged after him as he went through the market-place. He caused the planks of his galley to be cut away, that so he might lie the softer, his bed not being placed on the boards, but hanging upon girths. And his shield, which was richly gilded, had not the usual ensigns of the Athenians\*, but a Cupid holding a thunderbolt in his hand was represented upon it. The principal men of the city observed

her death procured the victory for her grandfather Erechtheus. In memory of this heroic action, the Athenians consecrated to Agraulos a wood and temple at the entrance into the citadel, and ordained, that, for the future, before they set out upon any expedition, all the youth should be obliged to take in that wood, the oath mentioned here by Plutarch, and which was a sort of devoting themselves for the good of their country.

\* The usual ensigns of the Athenians, were Minerva, the owl, and the olive; for, in the earliest ages, private persons and cities had their particular ensigns, or, as they are now called, *arms*, which were properly the emblems either of their original, their actions, or inclinations. None but people of figure and reputation in the world were allowed to bear these arms, and these devices. The shields worn by the common soldiers were all smooth and white; for which reason Æschylus calls the Theban troops, *λευκάσπιν λαόν*, *the people with white shields*. Virgil speaking of a prince who had never performed any exploit, expresses it, *Parmæque inglorius alba*, upon which the reader may see the notes of Servius. I did not speak improperly when I called these arms devices, for there are instances of what we call *devices* among the ancients. We meet with several in one of Æschylus's tragedies; Capaneus bore on his shield the figure of a naked man holding a torch in his hand, with this motto, *Πήσω πόλιν*, *I will burn the city*. Eteocles bore on his a soldier scaling a tower, with this motto, *In spite of Mars himself*; and Polinices's shield had on it a man in golden armour, and Justice marching before, and conducting him, with this motto, *I will replace him on the throne*.

these

these things with the highest indignation, and were afraid of his dissolute manners, and insolent contempt of the laws, as things monstrous in themselves, and tending to a change of the government. Aristophanes has well expressed in what manner the people stood affected towards him.

*They hate him, yet they love and court him too.*

And in another place he satirizes him more feverely by the following allusion :

*Yes, sons of Athens, you should first take care  
For your own sakes to breed no lion there ;  
But if by chance a lion should be bred,  
'Tis your next work to have him sooth'd and fed.*

The truth is, his liberalities, his public shows, and other instances of his munificence to the people, (which nothing could exceed), the glory of his ancestors, the force of his eloquence, the loveliness of his person, his strength of body joined with his great courage and extraordinary knowledge in military affairs, prevailed upon the Athenians to endure patiently his excesses, to indulge many things to him, and to give the softest names to his faults, attributing them only to his vivacity and good-nature. He kept Agatharcus \* the painter a prisoner, till he had painted his whole house, but then dismissed him with a reward. He publicly struck Taureas, who exhibited certain shows in opposition to him, and contended with him for the prize. He took to himself one of the captive Melian † women,

\* This painter had been familiar with Alcibiades's mistress; and Alcibiades having caught him in the fact, by way of punishment kept him prisoner till he had painted his whole house for him. Demosthenes touches upon this adventure in his speech against Midias.

† The isle of Melos, one of the Cyclades, and a colony of Lacedæmon, refused to submit to the Athenians, who therefore sent Alcibiades against it with six and thirty ships, and three thousand men, the last year of the 90th Olympiad. Alcibiades only blocked up the town with these forces, but Philocrates the son of Eudemus arriving the

men, and had a son by her, whom he took care to educate. This the Athenians styled great humanity; and yet he was the principal cause of the slaughter of all the inhabitants of the isle of Melos, who were of age to bear arms, by speaking in favour of that cruel decree \*. When Aristophon the painter had drawn Nemea the courtesan, sitting and holding Alcibiades in her arms, the multitude seemed pleased with the piece, and thronged to see it; but the graver sort were highly offended, and looked on these things as insults upon the laws, and as so many steps towards assuming arbitrary power. So that it was not ill said by Archestratus, that Greece could not bear two Alcibiadeses. Once when Alcibiades succeeded well in an oration which he made, and the whole assembly attended upon him to do him honour, Timon, surnamed the *Man biter*, would not pass slightly by him, nor avoid him as he did others, but purposely met him, and taking him by the hand, said, *Go on boldly, my son, mayst thou increase in credit with the people; for thou wilt one day bring them calamities enough.* Some that were present laughed at the saying, and some reproached Timon; but there were others upon whom it made a deep impression; so various was the judgment which was made of him, by reason of the inequality of his manners.

The Athenians, in the lifetime of Pericles, had cast a longing eye upon Sicily, but did not attempt any thing in relation to it, till after his death †. For then,

the year following, in the beginning of the winter, with new supplies from Athens, the Melians surrendered at discretion. The Athenians put to the sword all those that were of age to bear arms, and carried the women and children prisoners to Athens. *Thucyd. lib. 5.*

\* Thucydides, who has given us an account of this slaughter of the Melians, makes no mention of the decree. Perhaps he was willing to have it buried in silence, as a thing dishonourable to his country, and would have posterity consider that barbarous action as the effect of a sudden transport in forces, who had been provoked to it by the long and obstinate resistance of the Melians.

† Pericles during his life had prevented the Athenians from engaging in any of these extravagant projects. He died the last year of the



then, under pretence of aiding their confederates, they sent succours upon all occasions to those who were oppressed by the Syracusans, and thereby made way for the sending over a greater force. But Alcibiades was the person who inflamed this desire of theirs to the height, and prevailed with them no longer to proceed secretly in their design, and by little and little, but to send out a great fleet, and undertake at once to make themselves masters of the island. Thus he possessed the people with great hopes, whilst he himself had much greater; and the conquest of Sicily, which was the utmost bound of their ambition, was but the beginning of those things which he thought of. Nicias endeavoured to divert the people from this expedition, by representing to them, that the taking of Syracuse would be a work of great difficulty. But Alcibiades dreamed of nothing less than the conquest of Carthage and Lybia, and by the accession of these, fancied himself already master of Italy and Peloponnesus; so that he seemed to look upon Sicily as little more than a magazine for the war. The young men were soon elated with these hopes, and hearkened gladly to those of riper years, who told them strange things of this expedition; so that you might see great numbers sitting in the places of exercise, some describing the figure of the island, and

the 87th Olympiad, in the 3d year of the Peloponnesian war. Two years after this, the Athenians sent some ships to Rhegium, to the succour of the Leontines, who were attacked by the Syracusans. The year following they sent still a greater number; and two years after that, they fitted out another fleet of a greater force than the former; but the Sicilians having put an end to their divisions, and united themselves in their common defence, by the advice of Hermocrates, the fleet was sent back, and the Athenians were so enraged at their generals for not having conquered Sicily, that they banished two of them, Pythodorus and Sophocles, and laid a heavy fine upon Eurymedon: so insatuated were they by their prosperity, which had made them flatter themselves, that they were irresistible, that they could as well effect things of the greatest difficulty as those that were the most easy, and succeed as well with a few ships as with a numerous fleet.

others

others the situation of Lybia and Carthage. But it is said, that Socrates the philosopher, and Meton the astronomer, never hoped for any good to the commonwealth from this war : the one (as it is probable) presaging what would ensue, by the assistance of his dæmon, who conversed with him familiarly ; and the other, either upon a rational consideration of the project, or by making use of the art of divination, was become fearful of the success ; and therefore dissembling madness, he caught up a burning torch, and seemed as if he would have set his own house on fire. Others report, that he did not pretend to be mad, but that secretly in the night he set his house on fire, and the next morning besought the people, that, for his comfort after such a calamity, they would spare his son from the expedition. By which artifice he deceived his fellow-citizens, and obtained of them what he desired.

Nicias, much against his will, was appointed general together with Alcibiades ; for he endeavoured to avoid the command, as disliking his colleague. But the Athenians thought the war would proceed more prosperously, if they did not send Alcibiades free from all restraint, but tempered his heat with the caution of Nicias. This they chose the rather to do, because Lamachus the third general, though he was in his declining years, yet in several battles had appeared no less hot and rash than Alcibiades himself. When they began to deliberate concerning the number of forces, and the manner of making the necessary provisions, Nicias made another attempt to oppose the design, and to prevent the war ; but Alcibiades contradicted him, and carried his point with the people. And one Demostratus, an orator, proposing to them, that they should give the generals absolute power, both as to the greatness of the preparations, and the management of the war, it was presently decreed so. But just when all things were prepared for the voyage,  
many

many unlucky omens appeared. At that very time the feast of Adonis\* happened, in which the women were used to expose in all parts of the city, images resembling dead men carried out to their burial, and to represent funeral solemnities by their lamentations and mournful songs. The maiming also of the images of Mercury†, most of which in one night had their faces broken, terrified many persons who were wont to despise things of that nature. It was given out, that this was done by the Corinthians, for the sake of the Syracusans, who were a colony of theirs, in hopes that the Athenians, observing such prodigies, might be induced to desist from the war. Yet this report gained not any credit with the people; nor did they regard the opinion of those who thought there was nothing ominous in the matter, and that it was only an extravagant action, committed by some wild young men coming from a debauch; but they were both enraged and terrified at the thing, imagining it to proceed from a conspiracy of persons, who designed some great commotions in the state. And therefore both the council, and the assembly of the people, which upon this occasion was held

\* Venus was so afflicted at the death of Adonis, that the Athenians, in testimony of their devotion for that goddess, established a certain feast at the beginning of the summer, wherein they commemorated the death of that favourite. All the cities put themselves in mourning on that occasion; coffins were exposed at every door, the statues of Venus and Adonis were borne in procession with certain vessels filled with earth, in which they had with great care raised corn, herbs, and lettuce, and these cisterns were called *the gardens of Adonis*. Lettuce had a place in this solemnity, because they pretended that the dead body of Adonis was by Venus laid out upon a bed of lettuce. These festivals were not only solemnized at Athens, but throughout all Greece, in the isles and in Egypt. We find also that the Jews imitated these rites; Ezek. chap. 8. v. 14. *And behold there sat women weeping for Tammuz*, that is, Adonis. When the feast was over, they threw the gardens into the sea, or into some river.

† The Athenians had statues of Mercury at the doors of their houses, made of stones of a cubical form, to denote the solidity of reason and the stability of truth, which, howsoever turned, are always fixed and uniform.



frequently, in a few days space examined diligently every thing that might administer ground for suspicion. During this examination, Androcles, one of the demagogues, produced certain slaves and strangers before them, who accused Alcibiades, and some of his friends, of defacing other images in the same manner, and of having profanely acted the sacred mysteries at a drunken meeting, wherein one Theodorus represented the herald, Polition the torch-bearer, and Alcibiades the chief priest, while the rest of his companions attended, as persons initiated in the holy mysteries. These were the matters contained in the accusation which Theſſalus, the son of Cimon, exhibited against Alcibiades, for his impious mockery of the goddesses Ceres and Proserpine. The people were highly exasperated and enraged against Alcibiades upon this accusation, which being aggravated by Androcles the most malicious of all his enemies, at first gave him great uneasiness. But when he perceived that all the seamen designed for Sicily were fond of him, and that at the same time the forces of the Argives and the Mantineans, which consisted of a thousand men, openly declared that they had undertaken this tedious maritime expedition for the sake of Alcibiades, and that if he was ill used, they would all presently be gone, he recovered his courage, and became eager to make use of the present opportunity for justifying himself. At this his enemies were again discouraged, as fearing lest the people should be more gentle towards him in their sentence, by reason of the present occasion which they had for his service. Therefore, to obviate this mischief, they contrived that some other orators, who did not appear to be enemies to Alcibiades, but really hated him no less than those who avowed themselves to be so, should stand up in the assembly, and say, *that it was a very absurd thing, that one who was created general of such an army with*  
*absolute*

absolute power, after his troops were completed, and the confederates were arrived, should lose the present opportunity, whilst the people were chusing his judges by lot, and appointing times for the hearing of the cause. Therefore, said they, let him sail immediately, (and may good fortune attend him); but when the war is at an end, then let him appear and make his defence according to the laws.

But Alcibiades soon perceived the malice of this delay, and appearing in the assembly, represented to them, that it was a very grievous thing to him, to be sent forth with the command of so great an army, when he lay under such accusations and calumnies; that he deserved to die, if he could not clear himself of the crimes objected to him. But when he had answered the accusations, and proved his innocence, he should then chearfully apply himself to the war, as standing no longer in fear of false accusers. But he could not prevail with the people, who commanded him to sail immediately. So he departed together with the other generals, having with him near a hundred and forty galleys, five thousand one hundred heavy-armed soldiers, and about one thousand three hundred archers, slingers, and light-armed men; and all the other provisions were answerable, and every way complete.

Arriving on the coast of Italy, he landed at Rhegium, and there proposed his advice in what manner they should manage the war. He was opposed by Nicias; but Lamachus being of his opinion, they sailed from Sicily forthwith, and took Catana. That was all which was done while he was there; for he was soon after recalled by the Athenians, to take his trial. At first, (as we before said); there were only some slight suspicions offered against Alcibiades, and accusations by certain slaves and strangers. But afterwards in his absence his enemies attacked him more fiercely, and in their accusation joined the breaking the images with the

profanation of the holy mysteries, as if both had been committed in pursuance of the same conspiracy for changing the government. Thereupon the people imprisoned all that were accused, without distinction, and without hearing them, and repented exceedingly, that, having such pregnant evidence, they had not immediately brought Alcibiades to his trial, and given judgment against him. And if any of his friends or acquaintance fell into the people's hands, whilst they were in this fury, they were sure to be used very severely. Thucydides has omitted to name his accusers; but others mention Diocles and Teucer: amongst whom is Phrynichus the comic poet, who introduces one speaking thus:

*Dear Hermes, of a second fall take heed;  
A second Diocles will succeed.  
Not yours alone will be the dire disgrace:  
We're all undone, if you should scratch your face.*

To which he makes Mercury return this answer:

*Be not concern'd, my friend; you shall not see  
Such rogues as Teucer ever thrive by me.*

The truth is, his accusers alleged nothing that was certain against him. One of them being asked, *How he knew the men who defaced the images?* said, *He saw them by the light of the moon;* in which he was grossly mistaken; for it was just new moon when the fact was committed. This made all men of understanding cry out upon the thing as a contrivance: but the people were as eager as ever to receive further accusations; nor was their first heat at all abated, but they instantly seized and imprisoned every one that was accused. Amongst those who were detained in prison in order to their trials, was Andocides the orator, whom the historian Hellanicus reports to be descended from Ulysses. He was always looked upon as an enemy to the popular government,



government, and a favourer of oligarchy. What chiefly caused him to be suspected of defacing the images, was, that the great Mercury which was placed near his house, and was an ancient monument of the tribe of Ægeides, was almost the only statue, of all the remarkable ones, which remained entire. For this reason it is now called the *Mercury of Andocides*; all men giving it that name, though the inscription evidently shows the contrary. Among others who were prisoners upon the same account, was one Timæus, a person not equal to Andocides in quality, but very extraordinary both for parts and boldness; with him Andocides contracted a particular acquaintance and friendship. He persuaded Andocides to accuse himself and some few others of this crime, urging to him, *that, upon his confession, he would be secure of his pardon, by the decree of the people, whereas the event of judgment is uncertain to all men; but to great persons, as he was, most terrible. So that it was better for him, if he regarded himself, to save his life by a falsity, than to suffer an infamous death, as one really guilty of the crime. And if he had a regard to the public good, it was commendable to sacrifice a few suspected men, and by that means to rescue many excellent persons from the fury of the people.* The argument used by Timæus so far prevailed upon Andocides, as to make him accuse himself and some others; and thereupon, according to the decree of the people, he obtained his pardon; and all the persons who were named by him, (except some few who saved themselves by flight); suffered death. To gain the greater credit to his information, he accused his own servants amongst others. But, notwithstanding this, the people's anger was not appeased; and being now no longer diverted by those who had violated the images, they were at leisure to pour out their whole rage upon Alcibiades. And in conclusion, they sent the galley called the *Salaminian*, to recall

him. But they prudently commanded those that were sent, not to use violence, nor to seize upon his person, but to address themselves to him in the mildest terms, requiring him to follow them to Athens, in order to take his trial, and make his defence before the people: for indeed they feared a mutiny and a sedition in the army in an enemy's country, which it would have been easy for Alcibiades to effect, if he had pleased; for the soldiers were dispirited upon his departure, expecting for the future tedious delays, and that the war would be indolently protracted by Nicias, when Alcibiades, who was the spur to action, was taken away. For, though Lamachus was a soldier and a man of courage, yet being poor, he wanted authority and respect in the army. Alcibiades, just upon his departure, prevented Messina from falling into the hands of the Athenians. There were some in that city, who were upon the point of delivering it up; but he knowing the persons, discovered them to some friends of the Syracusans, and thereby defeated the whole contrivance. When he arrived at Thuria, he went on shore, and concealing himself there, escaped those who searched after him. But to one who knew him, and asked him, *If he durst not trust his native country?* he made answer, *Yes, I dare trust her for all other things; but when the matter concerns my life, I will not trust my mother, lest she should mistake, and unwarily throw in a black bean instead of a white one.* When afterwards he was told, that the assembly had pronounced judgment of death against him, he answered, *I will make them sensible that I am yet alive.*

The information against him was conceived in this form.

*Thessalus, the son of Cimon, of the ward of Laciades, doth accuse Alcibiades, the son of Clinias, of the ward of Scambonides, of having offended the goddesses Ceres and Proserpine, by representing in derision the holy mysteries,*  
and

and showing them to his companions in his own house : where being habited in such robes as are used by the chief priest, when he shows the holy things, he named himself the chief priest, Polition the torch-bearer, and Theodorus, of the ward of Phegea, the herald, and saluted the rest of his company as priests and initiated persons \*. All which was done contrary to the laws and institutions of the Eumolpides, and of the priests and other officers of the holy mysteries of the temple at Eleusis †. He was condemned upon his not appearing, his estate was confiscated, and it was decreed, that all the priests and priestesses should solemnly curse him. But one of them, Theano, the daughter of Menon, of the ward of Agraulos, is said to have opposed that part of the decree, saying, *That her holy office obliged her to make prayers, but not execrations.*

Alcibiades lying under these heavy decrees and sentences, when first he fled from Thuria, passed over into Peloponnesus, and remained some time at Argos. But being there in fear of his enemies, and seeing himself utterly rejected by his native country, he sent to the Spartans, desiring their protection, and assuring them, that he would make them amends by his future services for all the mischief he had done them while he was their enemy. The Spartans giving him the security he desired, he went thither cheerfully, and was well received. At his first coming he prevailed upon them without farther delay to send succours to the Syracusans ; and he quickened and excited them so, that they forthwith dispatched Gylippus into Sicily at the

\* All the mystery in those ceremonies, and in that initiation, lay in exposing to view certain things, which were usually concealed, and which the Latins called *Cereris mundum*.

† Eumolpus was the first that digested and settled those mysteries of Ceres, for which reason the superintendency of them was always reserved to him and his descendents ; and in failure of those descendents, they who succeeded in the function, were notwithstanding called *Eumolpides*.



head of an army, utterly to destroy the forces which the Athenians had in Sicily. Another thing which he persuaded them to do, was to make war also upon the Athenians on the side of Peloponnesus. But the third thing, and the most important of all the rest, was to make them fortify Decelea, which above all other things straitened and distressed the commonwealth of Athens \*.

As Alcibiades gained esteem by the services which he rendered to the public, so he was no less respected for his manner of living in private, whereby he wholly captivated the people. For he conformed himself entirely to the Spartan customs; so that those who saw that he was shaved close to the skin, that he bathed in cold water, fed upon a coarse cake, and used their black broth, would have doubted, or rather could not have believed that he ever had a cook in his house, had ever seen a perfumer, or had worn a robe of Milesian purple. For he had, as it is said, this peculiar talent and art, whereby he gained upon all men, that he could presently conform himself to their fashions and way of living, more easily than a chamæleon can change his colours. For there is one colour which, they say, the chamæleon cannot assume; that is, white; but Alcibiades, whether he conversed with debauched or virtuous persons, was still capable of imitating and complying with them. At Sparta, he was diligent at his exercises, frugal, and reserved. In Ionia he was luxurious, frolicsome, and lazy. In Thrace he was always drinking, or on horseback.

\* The reader may find in Thucydides, the speech Alcibiades made in full council to the Lacedæmonians, to induce them to assist the Sicilians, attack Athens, and fortify Decelea. That fortress made the Lacedæmonians masters of the country, insomuch that the Athenians were deprived of the profits that accrued to them from their silver mines at Laurium, nor could they gather rents, or levy fines upon their demesnes or receive assistance from their neighbours. Besides, Decelea became a receptacle for all the malecontents, and abettors of the Spartans. It was fortified in the last year of the 92d Olympiad.

And

And when he transacted with Tiffaphernes, the King of Persia's lieutenant, he exceeded the Persians themselves in magnificence and pomp: Not that his natural disposition changed so easily, nor that his manners were so very variable; but being sensible that if he pursued his own inclinations, he might give offence to those with whom he had occasion to converse, he therefore transformed himself into such shapes, and took up such fashions, as he observed to be most agreeable to them. So that at Lacedæmon, if a man judged by the outward appearance, he would say of him, according to the proverb, *This is not the son of Achilles, but Achilles himself*, and would have imagined he had been brought up in the austere discipline of Lycurgus. But he that looked more nearly into his manners, would cry out in the words of the poet,

*Still the same woman that she ever was\*.*

For while king Agis was absent, and abroad with the army, he corrupted his wife Timæa, and got her with child. Nor did she deny it: for when she was brought to-bed of a son, though she called him in public *Leotychides*, yet, among her confidants and attendants, she would whisper that his name ought to be *Alcibiades*; to such a degree was she transported by her passion for him. But he, on the other side, would say in sport, he had not done this out of revenge or lust, but that his race might one day come to reign over the Lacedæmonians. There were many who acquainted Agis with these things; but the time itself gave the greatest confirmation to the story. For Agis being frightened with an earthquake, fled out of bed from his wife, and for ten months after never lay with her; and therefore, Leotychides being born after those ten months, he

\* This is spoken of Hermione in the *Orestes* of Euripides, upon her discovering the same vanity, and the same solicitude about her beauty in advanced years that she had when she was young.

would

would not acknowledge him for his son; which was the reason that at last he never came to the kingdom.

After the defeat which the Athenians received in Sicily, ambassadors were dispatched to Sparta, at once from Chios, and Lesbos, and Cyzicum, to signify their purpose of deserting the interests of the Athenians. The Boeotians interposed in favour of the Lesbians, and Pharnabazus interested himself for the Cyziceniens; but the Lacedæmonians, at the persuasion of Alcibiades, chose to assist those of Chios before all others. He himself also went instantly to sea, and procured almost all Ionia to revolt at once; and joining himself to the Lacedæmonian generals, did great mischief to the Athenians. But Agis was his enemy, hating him for having dishonoured his wife, which he repented highly, and also not being able to bear patiently the glory he acquired; for most of the great actions which succeeded well, were universally ascribed to Alcibiades. Others also of the most powerful and ambitious amongst the Spartans, were envious of Alcibiades, and by their practices prevailed with the magistrates in the city to send orders into Ionia that he should be killed. But Alcibiades having secret intelligence of it, and being much terrified, though he communicated all affairs to the Lacedæmonians, yet took care not to fall into their hands. At last he retired to Tissaphernes, the King of Persia's lieutenant, for his security, and immediately became the first and most considerable person about him. For this Barbarian not being himself sincere, but a man of artifice and deceit, admired his address and wonderful subtilty. And indeed his carriage was so agreeable in their daily conversations and pleasures, that it could not but soften the worst humour, and take with the roughest disposition. Even those who feared and envied him, could not but be pleased with him, and feel some affection for him when they



they saw him, and were in his company. And Tiffaphernes himself, who was otherwise fierce, and above all other Persians hated the Greeks, yet was so won by the flatteries of Alcibiades, that he set himself even to exceed him in civility; so that he gave the name of Alcibiades to one of his gardens which exceeded all the rest in the beauty of its streams and meadows, and the elegance and magnificence of the various buildings which it contained; and afterwards every one called it by that name. Thus Alcibiades, quitting the interest of the Spartans, because he could no longer trust them, and stood in fear of Agis, endeavoured to do them all ill offices, and render them odious to Tiffaphernes, who by his means was hindered from assisting them vigorously, and from finally ruining the Athenians. For his advice was to furnish them but sparingly with money, whereby he would wear them out, and consume them insensibly; and when they had wasted their strength upon one another, they would both become an easy prey to his king. Tiffaphernes readily pursued his counsel, and so openly expressed the value and esteem which he had for him, that Alcibiades was considered highly by the Grecians of all parties. The Athenians now, in the midst of their misfortunes, repented of their severe sentence against him. And he, on the other side, began to be troubled for them, and to fear, lest, if that commonwealth were utterly destroyed, he should fall into the hands of the Lacedæmonians, his mortal enemies. At that time, the whole strength of the Athenians was at Samos: and their fleet which rode there was employed in reducing such as had revolted, and in protecting the rest of their territories; for as yet they were in a manner equal to their enemies at sea. But they stood in fear of Tiffaphernes and the Phœnician fleet, consisting of a hundred and fifty galleys, which they expected in a short time; and if those came, there remained then

no hopes for the commonwealth of Athens. When Alcibiades understood this, he sent secretly to the chief of the Athenians, who were then at Samos, giving them hopes that he would make Tissaphernes their friend; not with any design to gratify the people, whom he would never trust; but out of his respect to the nobility, if, like men of courage, they durst attempt to repress the insolence of the people, and by taking the government upon themselves, would endeavour to save the city from ruin. All of them gave a ready ear to the proposal made by Alcibiades, except only Phrynicius, one of the generals, who was of the ward of Dirades. He opposed him, suspecting, as the truth was, that Alcibiades concerned not himself, whether the government were in the people or the nobility, but only sought by any means to make way for his return into his native country, and to that end inveighed against the people, thereby to gain the nobility, and to insinuate himself into their good opinion. But Phrynicius finding his counsel rejected, and being now a declared enemy of Alcibiades, gave secret intelligence of this to Aftyochus, the enemy's admiral, cautioning him to beware of Alcibiades, and to look upon him as a double-dealer, and one that offered himself to both sides; not understanding all this while, that one traitor was making discoveries to another. For Aftyochus, who was zealous to gain the favour of Tissaphernes, observing the great credit which Alcibiades had with him, revealed to Alcibiades all that Phrynicius had said against him. Alcibiades presently dispatched away some persons to Samos, to accuse Phrynicius of the treachery. Upon this, all the commanders were enraged at Phrynicius, and set themselves against him; and he seeing no other way to extricate himself from the present danger, attempted to remedy one evil by a greater. For he sent away to Aftyochus, to reproach him for betraying him, and to make an offer

fer at the same time to deliver into his hands both the army and the navy of the Athenians. But neither did this treason of Phrynicus bring any damage to the Athenians, because Aftyochus repeated his treachery, and revealed also this proposal of Phrynicus to Alcibiades. This was foreseen by Phrynicus, who fearing a second accusation from Alcibiades, to prevent him, advertised the Athenians beforehand, that the enemy was ready to sail, in order to surprize them, and therefore advised them to fortify their camp, and to be in readiness to go aboard their ships. While the Athenians were intent upon these things, they received other letters from Alcibiades, admonishing them to beware of Phrynicus, as one who designed to betray their fleet to the enemy; to which they then gave no credit at all, conceiving that Alcibiades, who knew perfectly the counsels and preparations of the enemy, made use of that knowledge, in order to impose upon them in this false accusation of Phrynicus. Yet afterwards, when Phrynicus was stabbed with a dagger in the market-place by one of the soldiers under Hermon's command, who was then upon guard, the Athenians entering into an examination of the cause, solemnly condemned Phrynicus of treason, and decreed crowns to Hermon and his associates. And now the friends of Alcibiades carrying all before them at Samos, dispatched Pisander to Athens, to endeavour a change in the state, and to encourage the nobility to take upon themselves the government, and to destroy the republic; representing to them, that upon these terms Alcibiades would procure that Tissaphernes should become their friend and confederate. This was the colour and the pretence made use of by those who desired to reduce the government of Athens to an oligarchy. But as soon as they prevailed, and had got the administration of affairs into their hands, they took upon themselves the name of the five



thousand ; (whereas indeed they were but four hundred \*) ; and began to flight Alcibiades extremely, and to prosecute the war with less vigour than formerly, partly because they durst not yet trust the citizens, who were very averse to this change ; and partly because they thought the Lacedæmonians, who were always favourers of oligarchy, would now press them less vehemently.

The people in the city were terrified into a submission, many of those who had dared openly to oppose the four hundred having been put to death. But they who were at Samos, were enraged as soon as they heard this news, and resolved to set sail instantly for the Piræus. And sending for Alcibiades, they declared him general, requiring him to lead them on to destroy these tyrants. But in that juncture he did not act like one raised on a sudden by the favour of the multitude, nor would he yield and comply in every thing, as one who thought himself obliged entirely to gratify and submit to those who, from a fugitive and an exile, had created him general of so great an army, and given him the command of such a fleet : but, as became a great captain, he opposed himself to the precipitate resolutions to which their rage prompted them, and by restraining them from so great an error as they were about to commit, he manifestly saved the commonwealth. For if they had returned to Athens, all Ionia, the Hellespont, and the islands, would have fallen into the enemy's hands without opposition, while the Athenians, engaged in a civil war, were destroying one another within their own

\* The four hundred, that they might not seem to exclude the people entirely from a share in the government, appointed that an assembly of the people should be held occasionally, consisting of five thousand, who should have the same right they formerly had, to vote and determine concerning such things as should be proposed to them. But, notwithstanding this, the people had no real authority, because these assemblies were held only at such times and upon such affairs as were agreeable to the four hundred.

walls. It was Alcibiades principally who prevented all this mischief; for he did not only use persuasions to the whole army, and inform them of the danger, but applied himself to them one by one, entreating some, and forcibly restraining others. And herein Thrasybulus of Stira, by his assiduity, and the loudness of his voice, (in which he surpassed all the Athenians), was of considerable use to him. Another great service which Alcibiades did for them, was, his undertaking that the Phœnician fleet, which the Lacedæmonians expected to be sent to them by the King of Persia, should either come in aid of the Athenians, or otherwise should not come at all. He went on board with all expedition in order to perform this, and so managed the thing with Tissaphernes, that though those ships were already come as far as Aspendos, yet they advanced no further; so that the Lacedæmonians were disappointed of them. It was by both sides agreed, that this fleet was diverted by the procurement of Alcibiades. But the Lacedæmonians openly accused him, that he had advised this Barbarian to stand still, and suffer the Grecians to waste and destroy one another. For it was evident that the accession of so great a force to either party, would have made them masters of the sea.

Soon after this the four hundred usurpers were driven out, the friends of Alcibiades vigorously assisting those who were for the popular government. And now the people in the city not only desired, but commanded Alcibiades to return home from his exile. However, he disdained to owe his return to the mere compassion and favour of the people, and therefore resolved to come back with glory, and upon the merit of some eminent service. To this end he sailed from Samos with a few ships, and cruised on the sea of Cnidos, and about the isle of Coos, and got intelligence there, that Mindarus, the Spartan admiral, was sailed with his whole ar-

my into the Hellespont, in pursuit of the Athenians. Thereupon he made haste to succour the Athenian commanders, and by good fortune arrived with eighteen galleys at a critical time. For both the fleets having engaged near Abydos, the fight between them had lasted from morning till night, the one side having the advantage on the right wing, and the other on the left. Upon his first appearance, both sides conceived a false opinion of the end of his coming, for the enemy was encouraged and the Athenians terrified. But Alcibiades suddenly advanced the Athenian flag in the admiral's ship, and with great fury fell upon the Peloponnesians, who had then the advantage, and were in the pursuit. He soon put them to flight, and followed them so close, that he forced them on shore, broke their ships in pieces, and slew the men who endeavoured to save themselves by swimming; although Pharnabazus was come down to their assistance by land, and did what he could to cover the ships as they lay under the shore. In fine, the Athenians having taken thirty of the enemy's ships, and recovered all their own, erected a trophy. After the gaining of so glorious a victory, his vanity made him affect to shew himself to Tissaphernes, and having furnished himself with gifts and presents, and an equipage suitable to so great a general, he set forward towards him. But the thing did not succeed as he had imagined; for Tissaphernes having been long suspected by the Lacedæmonians, and being afraid of falling into disgrace with his king upon that account, thought that Alcibiades arrived very opportunely, and immediately caused him to be seized, and sent away prisoner to Sardis; thinking by this act of injustice to clear himself from former imputations. But about thirty days after Alcibiades escaped from his keepers, and having got a horse, fled to Clazomene, where he accused Tissaphernes, as consenting to his  
his



his escape. From thence he sailed to the Athenian camp, and being informed there that Mindarus and Pharnabazus were together at Cyzicum, he made a speech to the soldiers, showing them that it was necessary to attack the enemies both by sea and land, nay even to force them in their fortifications; for unless they gained a complete victory, they would soon be in want of necessary provisions for their subsistence. As soon as ever they were all embarked, he hastened to Proconnesus, and there gave command to place all the smaller vessels in the midst of the navy, and to take all possible care that the enemy might have no notice of his coming; and a great storm of rain, accompanied with thunder and darkness, which happened at the same time, contributed much to the concealing of his design; so that it was not only undiscovered by the enemy, but the Athenians themselves were ignorant of it; for he had suddenly commanded them on board, and set sail before they were aware. As soon as the darkness was over, the Peloponnesian fleet appeared in sight, riding at anchor before the port of Cyzicum. Alcibiades, fearing lest, if they discovered the number of his ships, they might endeavour to save themselves by land, commanded the rest of the captains to slacken their sails, and follow after him slowly; whilst he, advancing with forty ships, showed himself to the enemy, and provoked them to fight. The enemy being deceived in their number, despised them, and supposing they were to contend with those only, advanced, and began the fight. But as soon as they were engaged, they perceived the other part of the fleet coming down upon them, at which they were so terrified, that they fled immediately. Upon that, Alcibiades, with twenty of his best ships, breaking through the midst of them, hastened to the shore, and suddenly making a descent, pursued those who abandoned their ships and fled to land, and made a great slaughter of them.

Mindarus and Pharnabazus coming to their succour, were utterly defeated. Mindarus was slain upon the place, fighting valiantly, but Pharnabazus saved himself by flight. The Athenians slew great numbers of their enemies, won much spoil, and took all their ships. They also made themselves masters of Cyzicum, it being deserted by Pharnabazus, and put to death all the Peloponnesians that were there; and thereby not only secured to themselves the Hellespont, but entirely drove the Lacedæmonians out of all the other seas. They intercepted also some letters written to the Ephori, which gave an account of this fatal overthrow, after their short Laconic manner: *Our hopes are at an end; Mindarus is slain; the soldiers are starving; and we know not what measures to take.* The soldiers of Alcibiades were so elated and arrogant upon this success, that, looking on themselves as invincible, they disdained to mix with the other soldiers, who had been often overcome. For it happened not long before, that Thrasyllus had received a great defeat near Ephesus; and upon that occasion the Ephesians erected a brazen trophy to the disgrace of the Athenians \*. The soldiers of Alcibiades reproached those who were under the command of Thrasyllus, with this misfortune, at the same time magnifying themselves and their own commander; and it went so far at last, that they would not perform their exercises with them, nor lodge in the same quarters. But soon after, when Pharnabazus, with a great strength of horse and foot, fell upon the soldiers of Thrasyllus, as they were laying waste the territory of the Abydenians, Alcibiades coming

\* Plutarch says this brazen trophy was erected to the disgrace of the Athenians, because till then trophies were always of wood, which decaying by degrees, those monuments of hostility perished and were forgotten. The Ephesians therefore, to the immortal infamy of the Athenians, made their trophies of brass; and it was this mortifying novelty, with which Alcibiades's soldiers reproached those of Thrasyllus. *Diodor. lib. 13.*

to their aid, routed Pharnabazus, and, together with Thrasylus, pursued him till it was night. Then their troops united, and returned together to the camp, rejoicing and congratulating one another. The next day he erected a trophy, and then proceeded to lay waste with fire and sword the whole province which was under Pharnabazus, where none durst appear to oppose him. He took prisoners several priests and priestesses, but released them without ransom. He prepared to make war next upon the Chalcedonians, who had revolted from the Athenians, and had received a Lacedæmonian governor and garrison. But having intelligence that they had removed their corn and cattle out of the fields, and had sent all to the Bithynians, who were their friends, he drew down his army to the frontier of the Bithynians, and then sent a herald to complain of this procedure. The Bithynians being terrified at his approach, delivered up to him the whole booty, and entered into an alliance with him. Afterwards he proceeded to the siege of Chalcedon, and inclosed it with a wall from sea to sea. Pharnabazus advanced with his forces to raise the siege, and Hippocrates, the governor of the town, at the same time gathering together all the strength he had, made a sally upon the Athenians. Alcibiades divided his army so, as to engage them both at once, and not only forced Pharnabazus to a dishonourable flight, but slew Hippocrates, and a great number of the soldiers which were with him. After this he sailed into the Hellespont, in order to raise supplies of money, and took the city of Selybria; where, through his precipitancy, he exposed himself to great danger. For some within the town had undertaken to betray it into his hands, and, by agreement, were to give him a signal by a lighted torch about midnight. But one of the conspirators beginning to repent of the design, the rest, for fear of being discovered, were obliged to give



give the signal before the appointed hour. Alcibiades, as soon as he saw the torch lifted up in the air, though his army was not in readiness to march, ran instantly towards the walls, taking with him about thirty men only, and commanding the rest of the army to follow him with all possible diligence. When he came thither, he found the gate opened for him, and entered with his thirty men, and about twenty more of the light-armed soldiers, who were by this time come up to them. They were no sooner got into the city, but he perceived the Selybrians in arms coming down upon him; so that there was no hope of escaping if he staid to receive them; and on the other side having been always successful till that day, where-ever he commanded, his glory would not suffer him to fly. But on the sudden he thought of this device: he commanded silence by the sound of a trumpet, and then ordered one of his men to make proclamation, that the Selybrians should not take arms against the Athenians. This cooled such of the inhabitants as were fiercest for the fight, for they supposed that all their enemies were got within the walls; and it raised the hopes of others who were disposed to an accommodation. Whilst they were parleying, and propositions were making on one side and the other, Alcibiades's whole army came up to the town. But then conjecturing rightly that the Selybrians were inclined to peace, and fearing lest the city might be sacked by the Thracians (who came in great numbers to his army to serve as volunteers, out of their particular kindness and respect for him), he commanded them all to retreat without the walls. And upon the submission of the Selybrians, he saved them from being pillaged; and only taking of them a sum of money, and placing an Athenian garrison in the town, he departed.

The Athenian captains who besieged Chalcedon, concluded a treaty with Pharnabazus upon these conditions;

ditions ; that he should give them a sum of money ; that the Chalcedonians should return to the subjection of Athens ; and that the Athenians should make no inroad into the province of which Pharnabazus was governor ; and Pharnabazus was also to provide safe conduct for the Athenian ambassadors to the king of Persia. Afterwards when Alcibiades returned thither, Pharnabazus required that he also should be sworn to the treaty ; but he refused it, unless Pharnabazus would swear first. When the treaty was confirmed by oath on both sides, Alcibiades marched against the Byzantines, who had revolted from the Athenians, and drew a line of circumvallation about the city. But Anaxilaus and Lycurgus, together with some others, having undertaken to betray the city to him, upon his engagement to preserve the lives and goods of the inhabitants, he caused a report to be spread, that, by reason of some unexpected commotion in Ionia, he should be obliged to raise the siege. And accordingly that day he departed with his whole fleet ; but returning the same night, he went ashore with all his heavy-armed soldiers, and silently and undiscovered marched up to the walls. At the same time his ships were rowed into the haven, where they began a furious attack with loud shouts and outcries. The Byzantines being astonished at this unexpected assault, and being universally engaged in defence of their port and shipping, gave opportunity to those who favoured the Athenians, securely to receive Alcibiades into the city. Yet the enterprise was not accomplished without fighting ; for the Peloponnesians, Bœotians, and Megarensians, who were in Byzantium, not only repulsed those who came out of the ships, and forced them on board again, but hearing that the Athenians were entered on the other side, they drew up in order, and went to meet them. But Alcibiades gained the victory, after a sharp engagement, wherein he himself

self had the command of the right wing, and Theramenes of the left. Those of the enemy who survived the battle were made prisoners, to the number of about three hundred. After the battle not one of the Byzantines was slain, or driven out of the city, according to the terms upon which the city was put into his hands, that they should receive no injury in their persons or estates. Therefore when Anaxilaus was afterwards accused at Lacedæmon for this treason, he neither disowned nor was ashamed of the action: for he urged, *that he was not a Lacedæmonian, but a Byzantine; and that he saw not Sparta, but Byzantium, in extreme danger; the city being so straitly begirt, that it was not possible to bring in any new provisions, and the Peloponnesians and Bœotians, who were in garrison, devouring their old stores, whilst the Byzantines with their wives and children were ready to starve; that he had not betrayed his country to enemies, but had delivered it from the calamities of war; wherein he had followed the example of the most worthy Lacedæmonians, who esteemed nothing to be honourable and just, but what was profitable for their country.* The Lacedæmonians, upon hearing his defence, were so well pleased, that they discharged all who were accused.

And now Alcibiades being desirous to see his native country again, or rather to be seen by his fellow-citizens, after gaining so many victories for them, set sail for Athens, his ships being adorned on every side with many shields and other spoils. He brought with him likewise a great number of galleys taken from the enemy, and the ensigns and ornaments of many others which he had sunk and destroyed; all of them together amounting to two hundred. But there is little credit to be given to what is related by Duris the Samian, (who pretends to be a descendent of Alcibiades), that Chryfogonus, who had won the prize at the Pythian games, played upon his flute as the galleys passed on, whilst the  
oars.



Oars kept time with the music; and that Callipedes the tragedian, attired in his buskins, his purple robes and other ornaments which he used in the theatre, excited those who laboured at the oars; and that the admiral galley entered into the port with a purple sail. For these things are such kind of extravagancies as are wont to follow a debauch; and neither Theopompus, nor Ephorus, nor Xenophon mention them. Nor indeed is it credible, that one who returned from so long an exile, and such a variety of misfortunes, should behave in so wanton and insolent a manner. On the contrary, he entered the harbour with fear, nor would he afterwards venture to go on shore, till standing on the deck, he saw Euryptolemus his nephew, and others of his friends and acquaintance, who were ready to receive him, and invited him to land. As soon as he was landed, the multitude who came out to meet him, disdained to bestow a look on any of the other captains, but thronged about Alcibiades, saluted him, and followed him with loud acclamations. They who could press near him, crowned him with garlands, and they who could not come up so close, yet staid to view him at a distance, and the old men pointed him out, and showed him to the young ones. Nevertheless this public joy was mixed with some tears, and the present happiness was allayed by the remembrance of all the miseries they had endured. They reflected, that they could not have so unfortunately miscarried in Sicily, or have been disappointed in any of those things which they had ever hoped for, if they had left the management of their affairs, and the command of their forces, to Alcibiades; since upon his undertaking the administration, when they were in a manner ruined at sea, and could scarce defend the suburbs of their city by land, and at the same time were miserably distracted with intestine factions, he had raised them from this low and deplorable

rable condition, and had not only restored them to their ancient dominion of the sea, but had also made them every where victorious over their enemies by land.

The decree for recalling him from his banishment had ben passed by the people, at the request of Critias the son of Callæschrus \*, as appears by his elegies, in which he puts Alcibiades in mind of this service.

*Thee first from banishment my voice requir'd;  
The state but granted what the friend desir'd.*

The people being summoned to an assembly, Alcibiades came in amongst them, and first bewailed and lamented his own sufferings, and gently and modestly complained of their usage, imputing all to his hard fortune, and some ill genius that attended him. Then he discoursed at large of the designs and hopes of their enemies, but withal exhorted them to take courage. The people crowned him with crowns of gold, and created him general both at land and sea with absolute power. They also made a decree, that his estate should be restored to him, and that the Eumolpides and the holy heralds should again absolve him from the curses which they had solemnly pronounced against him by a decree of the people. Which when all the rest obeyed, Theodorus the high priest excused himself: *For, said he, I never denounced any execration against him, if he has done nothing against the commonwealth.*

But notwithstanding the affairs of Alcibiades succeeded so prosperously, and so much to his glory, yet many were still much disturbed, and looked upon the

\* This Critias was uncle to Plato's mother, and afterwards one of the thirty tyrants. He wrote a treatise concerning the republic of Sparta, and some elegies. Athenæus has given us a pretty large fragment of one of his elegies, which is sufficient to make us sensible that he was very well qualified for such sort of compositions. This is the Critias that Plato introduces in his dialogues.

time of his arrival to be ominous. For on the same day that he came into the port, the feast of the goddess Minerva \*, which they call the *Plynteria*, was kept. It is the twenty-fifth day of Thargelion [May], when the Praxiergides solemnize those mysteries which are not to be revealed, taking all the ornaments from off her image, and keeping the image itself close covered †. Hence it is that the Athenians esteem this day most inauspicious, and never undertake any thing of importance upon it: and therefore they imagined, that the goddess did not receive Alcibiades graciously and propitiously, but hid her face from him, and rejected him. Notwithstanding which, every thing succeeded according to his wish, and an hundred gallies were fitted out, and ready to sail; but an honourable zeal detained him till the celebration of the grand mysteries ‡. For, since the time that Decelea was fortified, the enemies had made themselves masters of all the roads which lead from Athens to Eleusis, and therefore the procession being of necessity to go by sea, could not be performed with due solemnity; but the people were forced to omit the sacrifices and dances, and other ceremonies, which were used to be performed in the way called *holy*, when the statue of Bacchus was carried in procession to Eleusis. Alcibiades therefore judged it would be a glorious

\* This was a festival among the Athenians annually celebrated in honour of Minerva. At this festival they stripped the statue of the goddess, and washed it, whence it was called *plynteria*, from *πλύνω*, which signifies *to wash*. That day was considered as one of the most unlucky. Their temples likewise were at that time encompassed about with a cord, to denote that they were shut up, as was customary on all inauspicious days; and they carried dried figs in procession, because that was the first fruit that was eaten after acorns.

† They stripped Minerva of her habits and ornaments, in order to wash or clean them; but that she might not in the mean time be exposed naked, they covered the statue all over.

‡ He means the mysteries of Ceres and Proserpine. That festival continued for nine days; and on the sixth they carried in procession to Eleusis, the statue of Bacchus, whom they supposed to be the son of Jupiter and Ceres,



action, whereby he should do honour to the gods, and gain esteem with men, if he restored the ancient splendour to these rites, in conducting the procession again by land, and protecting it with his army from the enemy. For thereby he was sure, if Agis stood still and did not oppose him, it would very much diminish and obscure his glory; or otherwise that he should engage in a holy war in the cause of the gods, and in defence of the most sacred and solemn ceremonies; and this in the fight of his country, where he should have all his fellow-citizens witnesses of his valour. As soon as he had resolved upon this design, and had communicated it to the Eumolpides, and other holy officers, he placed centinels on the tops of the mountains, and at break of day sent forth his scouts. And then taking with him the priests, and consecrated persons, and those who had the charge of initiating others in the holy mysteries, and encompassing them with his soldiers, he conducted them with great order and profound silence. This was an august and venerable procession, wherein all who did not envy him, said, *He performed at once the office of an high priest and of a general.* The enemy durst not attempt any thing against them; and thus he brought them back in safety to the city. Upon which as he was exalted in his own thoughts, so the opinion which the people had of his conduct, was raised to that degree, that they looked upon their armies as irresistible and invincible while he commanded them. He so won upon the lower and meaner sort of people, that they passionately desired he would take the sovereignty upon him; and some of them made no difficulty to tell him so, and advised him to put himself out of the reach of envy, by abolishing the laws and ordinances of the people, and suppressing the pernicious loquacity of the orators, that so he might take upon him the management of affairs, without fear of being called to an account.

count. How far his own inclinations led him to usurp sovereign power, is uncertain; but the most considerable persons in the city were so much afraid of his designs, that they hastened his embarkation as much as possible, granting him liberty to chuse his own officers, and allowing him all other things that he desired. Thereupon he set sail with a fleet of an hundred ships, and arriving at Andros, he there fought with and defeated both the inhabitants, and the Lacedæmonians, who assisted them. But yet he took not the city, which gave the first occasion to his enemies to form their accusations against him. Certainly if ever any man was ruined by his own glory, it was Alcibiades: for his continual success had begot such an opinion of his courage and conduct, that if he failed in any thing he undertook, it was imputed to his neglect; and no one would believe it was through want of power: for they thought nothing was too hard for him, if he went about it in good earnest. They expected also every day to hear news of the reducing of Chios, and of the rest of Ionia, and grew impatient that things were not effected as fast and as suddenly as they desired. They never considered how extremely money was wanting, and that being to make war with an enemy, who had supplies of all things from the king of Persia, Alcibiades was often forced to quit his camp in order to procure money and provisions for the subsistence of his soldiers. This it was which gave occasion for the last accusation which was brought against him. For Lyfander being sent by the Lacedæmonians with a commission to be admiral of their fleet, and being furnished by Cyrus with a great sum of money, gave every mariner four oboli a-day, whereas before they had but three. Alcibiades could hardly allow his men three oboli, and therefore was constrained to go into Caria to furnish himself with money. He left the care of the fleet, in his ab-

fence, to Antiochus \*, an experienced seaman, but rash and inconsiderate, who had express orders from Alcibiades not to engage, though the enemy provoked him. But he slighted and disregarded the orders to that degree, that having made ready his own galley and another, he presently stood for Ephesus, where the enemy lay, and as he failed before the heads of their galleys, used the highest provocations possible both in words and deeds. Lyfander at first sent out a few ships in pursuit of him; but all the Athenian ships coming into his assistance, Lyfander also brought up his whole fleet, which gained an entire victory. He slew Antiochus himself, took many men and ships, and erected a trophy.

As soon as Alcibiades heard this news, he returned to Samos, and loosing from thence with his whole fleet, he came and offered battle to Lyfander. But Lyfander, content with the victory he had gained, would not stir. Amongst others in the army who were enemies to Alcibiades, was Thrasylbulus, the son of Thrason, who went purposely to Athens to accuse him, and to exasperate his enemies in the city against him. In an oration to the people he represented, that Alcibiades had ruined their affairs, and lost their ships, by insolently abusing his authority, and committing the government of the army in his absence, to such as by their debauchery and scurrilous discourses got most into credit with him, whilst he wandered up and down at pleasure to raise money, giving himself up to all luxury and excess amongst the Abydenian and Ionian courtezans, at a time when the enemy's navy rode at anchor so near his. It was also objected to him, that he had fortified a castle near Bisantha in Thrace, for a safe retreat for himself, as one that

\* This is the Antiochus who had obtained his friendship by catching for him the quail he had let loose.



either could not, or would not live in his own country. The Athenians gave credit to these informations, and discovered the resentment and displeasure which they had conceived against him, by chusing other generals.

As soon as Alcibiades heard of this, he immediately forsook the army, being afraid of what might follow; and getting many strangers together, he made war upon his own account against those Thracians who pretended to be free, and acknowledged no king. By this means he amassed to himself a great treasure out of the spoils which he took, and at the same time secured the bordering Grecians from the incursions of the Barbarians.

\* Tydeus, Menander, and Adimantinus, the new-made generals, were then at Ægos Potamos, with all the ships which the Athenians had left: from whence they used to go out to sea every morning, and offer battle to Lyfander, who lay at anchor near Lampfacus; and when they had done so, returning back again, they lay all the rest of the day carelessly and without order, as men who despised the enemy. Alcibiades, who was not far off, did not think so slightly of their danger, nor neglected to let them know it, but mounting his horse, he came to the generals, and represented to them, that they had chosen a very inconvenient station, as wanting a safe harbour, and far distant from any town; so that they were constrained to send for their necessary provisions as far as Sestos. He also reproved them for their carelessness, in suffering the soldiers when they went ashore, to disperse themselves, and wander up and down at their

\* Plutarch omits almost three years, and takes no notice of what was performed by the ten generals that succeeded Alcibiades. He passes over the twenty-fifth year of the Peloponnesian war; and the twenty-sixth, in which the Athenians obtained the victory at Arginusæ; and almost the whole twenty-seventh, towards the end of which the Athenians failed to Ægos Potamos, where they received the blow that is spoken of in this place.

pleasure, when the enemy's fleet, which was under the command of one general, and strictly obedient to discipline, lay so very near them. But the Athenian admirals disregarded these admonitions of Alcibiades, and his advice to remove the fleet to Sestos; and Tydeus with great insolence commanded him to be gone, saying, *That now not he, but others had the command of the forces.* Whereupon Alcibiades suspecting something of treachery in them, departed. But he told his friends who accompanied him out of the camp, *That if the generals had not used him with such insupportable contempt, he would within a few days have forced the Lacedæmonians, however unwilling, either to have fought the Athenians at sea, or to have deserted their ships.* Some looked upon this as a piece of ostentation only; but others said, the thing was probable, for that he might have embarked great numbers of the Thracian cavalry and archers, to assault and disorder them in their camp. The event soon made it evident, how very rightly he judged of the errors which the Athenians had committed: for Lyfander fell upon them on a sudden, when they least suspected it, with such fury, that Conon, with eight galleys \* only escaped him, all the rest (which were about two hundred) he took and carried away, together with three thousand prisoners, whom he afterwards put to death. And within a short time after he took Athens itself, burnt all the ships which he found there, and demolished their long walls.

After this Alcibiades standing in dread of the Lacedæmonians, who were now masters both at sea and land, retired into Bithynia. He sent thither great treasure before him, took much with him, but left much more in the castle where he had before resided. But he lost great part of his wealth in Bithynia, being robbed by some Thracians who

\* There was a ninth, called *Paralus*, which escaped, and carried the news of their defeat to Athens. Conon himself retired to Cyprus.  
lived

lived in those parts; and thereupon he determined to go to the court of Artaxerxes, not doubting but that the king, if he would make trial of his abilities, would find him not inferior to Themistocles; and besides, he was recommended by a more honourable cause. For he went not, as Themistocles did, to offer his service against his fellow-citizens, but against their enemies, and to implore the king's aid for the defence of his country. He concluded, that Pharnabazus would most readily procure him a safe conduct, and therefore went into Phrygia to him, and continued there some time; paying him great respect, and being honourably treated by him. The Athenians in the mean time were miserably afflicted at their loss of empire; but when they were deprived of liberty also, and Lyfander had imposed thirty governors upon the city, and their state was finally ruined, then they began to reflect on those things, which they would never consider whilst they were in a prosperous condition: then they acknowledged and bewailed their former errors and follies, and judged the second ill usage of Alcibiades to be of all others the most inexcusable: for he was rejected without any fault committed by himself; and only because they were incensed against his lieutenant for having shamefully lost a few ships, they much more shamefully deprived the commonwealth of a most valiant and most accomplished general. Yet in this sad state of affairs they had still some faint hopes left them, nor would they utterly despair of the Athenian commonwealth, while Alcibiades lived. For they persuaded themselves, that since, when he was an exile before, he could not content himself to live idle and at ease, much less now (if he could find any favourable opportunity) would he endure the influence of the Lacedæmonians, and the outrages of the thirty tyrants. Nor was it an absurd thing in the people to entertain such imaginations, when  
the



the thirty tyrants themselves were so very solicitous to observe, and to get intelligence of all his actions and designs. In fine, Crytias represented to Lyfander, that the Lacedæmonians could never securely enjoy the dominion of Greece, till the Athenian democracy was absolutely destroyed. And though now the people of Athens seemed patiently to submit to so small a number of governors, yet Alcibiades, whilst he lived, would never suffer them to acquiesce in their present circumstances.

But Lyfander would not be prevailed upon by these discourses, till at last he received secret letters from the magistrates of Lacedæmon, expressly requiring him to get Alcibiades dispatched: whether it was that they stood in fear of his active enterprising disposition, or whether it was done to gratify King Agis. Upon receipt of this order, Lyfander sent away a messenger to Pharnabazus, desiring him to put it in execution. Pharnabazus committed the affair to Magæus his brother, and to his uncle, Susamithres. Alcibiades resided at that time in a small village in Phrygia, together with Timandra, a mistress of his. One night he dreamed that he was attired in his mistress's habit, and that she, holding him in her arms, dressed his head, and painted his face, as if he had been a woman. Others say, he dreamed that Magæus cut off his head, and burnt his body; and it is said, that it was but a little while before his death that he had these visions. They who were sent to assassinate him, had not courage enough to enter the house; but surrounding it first, they set it on fire. Alcibiades, as soon as he perceived it, getting together great quantities of cloaths and furniture, threw them upon the fire, with a design to choke it; and having wrapped his robe about his left arm, and holding his naked sword in his right, he cast himself into the middle of the fire, and escaped securely through it, before it had time to take thoroughly  
the

the furniture, and other materials he had thrown into it. The Barbarians, as soon as they saw him, retreated, none of them daring to wait for him, or to engage with him; but standing at a distance, they slew him with their darts and arrows. When he was dead, the Barbarians departed, and Timandra took his body, and wrapping it up in her own robes \*, buried it as decently and as honourably as her present circumstances would allow †. It is said, that the famous Lais (who was called the *Corinthian*, though she was a native of Hyccaræ, a small town in Sicily, from whence she was brought a captive) was the daughter of this Timandra. There are some who agree in this account of Alcibiades's death in all things, except only that they do not impute it either to Pharnabazus, Lyfander, or the Lacedæmonians; but say, that he kept a young lady of a noble house, whom he had debauched; and that her brothers, not being able to endure the indignity, by night set fire to the house where he dwelt, and as he endeavoured to save himself from the flames, slew him with their darts, in the manner before related.

\* This circumstance manifestly relates to Alcibiades's dream, and the accomplishment of it. He dreamed that his mistress had attired him in her own habit, and that he lay in her bosom.

† She buried him in the town of Melissa. Athenæus writes, that as he was travelling that way he saw Alcibiades's monument, upon which Adrian the emperor caused the statue of the deceased carved in Parian marble to be erected, and ordained that a bull should be sacrificed there annually.

THE

T H E  
L I F E  
O F  
C. M. CORIOLANUS.

**T**HE house of the Marcii in Rome produced many eminent patricians; and among the rest Ancus Marcius, who was grandson to Numa by his daughter Pomponia, and reigned there after Tullus Hostilius. Of the same family were also Publius and Quintus Marcius, (which two brought into the city the greatest part of the best water in Rome); as also Censorinus, who after he had been twice chosen censor by the people, persuaded them himself to make a perpetual decree, that nobody should bear that office a second time. Caius Marcius, of whom I now write, being left an orphan, and brought up under his mother in her widowhood, has shown that the early loss of a father, though attended with other disadvantages, yet can prove no hinderance to a man's being virtuous, or eminent in the world; notwithstanding bad men sometimes allege it in excuse for their corrupt and debauched lives. This same person also was a remarkable evidence of the truth of their opinion, who think that a generous and good nature without discipline (like a rich soil without culture) must produce plenty of bad and good intermixed. For his undaunted courage and firm constancy spurred him on, and carried him through many glorious actions; but his ungoverned passion and inflexible obstinacy



obstinacy made him appear harsh and disagreeable among his friends, and wholly unfit for the ease and freedom of conversation. So that those who saw with admiration his soul unshaken either by pleasures, toils, or the temptations of money, and allowed that he possessed the virtues of temperance, justice, and fortitude; yet, in civil intercourse and affairs of state, could not but be disgusted at his rough imperious temper, too haughty for a republic. And indeed the advantages of a liberal education are in nothing more apparent than this, that it softens and polishes a rugged temper by the rules of prudence and the precepts of morality, teaching men to moderate their desires, to chuse the sober mean, and avoid extremes.

In those times, that sort of virtue which exerted itself in military arts and martial exploits, was most encouraged and esteemed at Rome; which is evident from hence, that the Latin word for virtue came then to signify valour, and the general term was applied to that particular excellence, which is properly called fortitude. Marcius having a more than ordinary inclination for military exercises, began to handle arms from his very childhood; but thought that external instruments, and artificial arms would be of small service to them who had not their natural weapons ready, and at command; therefore he exercised and prepared his body for all manner of engagements; he acquired a great swiftness to pursue, and such a strength and firmness to grapple and wrestle with the enemy, that none could easily get clear of him; so that all who tried their abilities with him and were worsted in the engagement, excused their own weakness by pleading his invincible strength, hardened against all opposition, and proof against all fatigue.

His first expedition he made when he was very young, when Tarquin, (who had been king of Rome, but afterwards banished), after many skirmishes

misses and defeats, made his last push, and ventured all at a single throw. A great number of the Latins, and other people of Italy, had joined forces with him, and were marching towards the city, though not so much out of desire to serve and restore Tarquin, as fear and envy of the Roman greatness, the increase of which they were desirous to prevent. The armies engaged in a decisive battle which had various turns. Marcius fighting bravely in the dictator's presence, saw a Roman soldier fall nigh him; instead of deserting him in that extremity, he stepped in immediately to his rescue, beat off and slew the aggressor. The general having got the victory, crowned him one of the first with a garland of oak; for this was the reward given to a soldier who had saved the life of any Roman citizen\*; whether the law intended some special honour to the oak, in memory of the Arcadians, whom the oracle had celebrated by the name of *Acorn-eaters*; or because they could easily meet with plenty of it, where-ever they fought; or because, the oaken wreath being sacred to Jupiter the great guardian of their city, they might therefore think it the most proper ornament for him who preserved a citizen. Besides, the oak is a tree that bears the most and fairest fruit of any that grows wild, and is stronger than any that are dressed and improved by art; its acorns also were the principal diet of the first ages; and the honey which was commonly found there, afforded them a very pleasant liquor; it supplied them too even with fowl and other creatures for dainties, as it produced mistleto, for birdlime, by which they are entangled.

\* This crown was the foundation of many privileges. He who had once obtained it had a right to wear it always. When he appeared at the public spectacles, the senate rose in honour to him. He was placed near the senators; and his father, and grandfather by the father's side, were entitled to the same privileges and immunities.

It is reported that Castor and Pollux appeared in the battle before mentioned, and immediately after it were seen at Rome in the Forum, just by the fountain where their temple now stands, upon horses all foaming with sweat, as if they had rid post thither to bring news of the victory; on which account the 15th of July (being the day on which this battle was fought), was dedicated to the twin-gods.

We may observe in general, that when young men meet with applause, and an early reputation, if they have souls but slightly touched with ambition, all their thirst for glory is soon extinguished, and their desires satiated; whereas honours conferred on a more firm and solid mind, animate and improve it, and like a brisk gale drive it on in pursuit of further glory. Such a man looks upon fame, not as a reward of his present virtue, but as an earnest he has given of his future performances; and is ashamed to underlive the credit he has won, and not to outshine his past illustrious actions. Marcius had a soul of this frame. He was always endeavouring to excel himself, and continually engaged in some new exploit. He added one great action to another, and heaped trophies upon trophies, till he became the subject of a glorious contest among the generals, the latter of them still striving with his predecessor, which should pay him the greatest respect, and speak most highly in his commendation. For the Romans having many wars in those times, and frequent battles, Marcius never returned from any of them without honours or rewards; and whereas others made glory the end of their valour, the end of his glory was to give pleasure to his mother. The delight she took to hear him praised, and to see him crowned, and her weeping for joy in his embraces, made him, in his own thoughts, the most honourable and happy person in the world. This sentiment was not un-



like that of Epaminondas, who is said to have professed that he reckoned it the greatest felicity of his whole life, that his father and mother still survived to behold his conduct and victory at Leuctra. He had the satisfaction indeed to see both his parents partake with him, and enjoy the pleasure of his good fortune; but Marcius holding himself obliged to pay his mother Volumnia \* all that duty and gratitude which would have belonged to his father, could never satisfy his mind, or think he did enough in all the respect and tenderness which he showed her, but took a wife also at her motion and entreaty; and after she had born him children, he lived still with his mother. The repute of his integrity and courage had by this time gained him a considerable interest and authority at Rome, when the senate favouring the richer sort of citizens were at difference with the common people, who made grievous complaints against the intolerable severity of their creditors. For those who had any considerable stock, were stripped of their goods, which were either sold or detained for a security; and those who were already reduced, were carried to prison, and their bodies kept under confinement, though they showed upon them the scars and wounds which they had received in the service of their country, in several expeditions, particularly in the last against the Sabines, which they undertook upon a promise made by the rich creditors, that they would use them more mildly for the future, Marcus Valerius the consul having, in consequence of a decree of the senate, engaged also for the performance of it. But when they had fought there with alacrity and courage, and returned home victors, no abatement of their debts was made; the senate too pretended to remember no-

\* Livy and Dionysius say that his wife was called *Volumnia*, and his mother *Veturia*. Plutarch calls his wife *Vergilia*.

thing of that agreement, and beheld them without any concern dragged away like slaves, and their goods seized upon as formerly. This caused frequent tumults, and open mutinies in the city; and the enemy perceiving these distractions among the people, began to invade and lay waste the country. Upon this the consuls gave notice that all who were of age should appear in arms; but no body obeyed the summons. This set the magistrates themselves at variance. Some thought it most adviseable to comply a little with the poor, and remit something of the strict rigour of the law. Others declared against that propofal, and particularly Marcius. He thought the business of the money was not the main thing to be regarded; but looked upon these disorderly proceedings as an attempt to subvert the established laws, and a proof of the growing insolence of the people, which it became a wise government to restrain and suppress.

There had been frequent meetings of the senate within the space of a few days about this affair, but no satisfactory conclusion could be agreed on. The commonalty perceiving no redress, on a sudden rose all in a body, and encouraging one another, left the city, and marching up that ascent which is now called the *Holy Mount*, they sat down by the river *Anio*. They committed no act of hostility in their march, only they made heavy outcries as they passed along, complaining, *that the rich men had expelled them out of the city; that Italy would every where afford them the benefit of air and water, and a place of burial when they died, which was all they had to expect if they staid in Rome, except being killed and wounded in time of war for the defence of their oppressors.* The senate dreading the consequence of this rupture, sent some of their order, such as were most moderate, and best beloved by the people, to treat with them.

Menenius Agrippa, their chief spokesman, after

using much entreaty to the people; and no less freedom in defence of the senate, at length concluded his discourse with this celebrated fable. *It once happened, says he, that all the other members of the body mutinied against the stomach, which they accused as the only idle uncontributing part in the whole, while the rest were put to mighty hardships, and the expense of much labour to supply that, and minister to its appetites. But the stomach laughed at their folly in not knowing that though she receives all the nourishment, yet she does not retain it, but distributes it again to all the other parts. Now, this is exactly the case betwixt you and the senate, O citizens; for their counsels and determinations on the affairs of the commonwealth, all tend to your welfare, and dispense strength and happiness to the whole people.*

This discourse pacified the people; so they only desired the choice of five men to protect such as should need assistance; which officers are now called *tribunes of the people*. This was granted by the senate; and the two first they chose were Junius Brutus\* and Sicinius Vellutus, the ringleaders of that sedition. The city being thus reunited, the commons presently took up arms, and readily listed themselves under their commanders for the war. As for Marcius, though he was not a little displeased at these incroachments of the populace, and the declining power of the senate, and observed many other patricians were of the same mind; yet he entreated them not to yield to the people in this zeal for the service of their country, but to show themselves superior to them, not so much in power and riches, as in virtue.

The Romans were now at war with the Volsci-

\* This was a very turbulent and seditious person. He was a man of wit, and had a flow of words. His true name was *Lucius Junius*; and because he who had expelled the Tarquins was called *Lucius Junius Brutus*, he also took the name of *Brutus*, which exposed him to a great deal of ridicule.



ans, whose principal city was Corioli; when therefore Cominius the consul had invested this important place, the rest of the Volscians, fearing it should be taken, collected all their force, designing to give the Romans battle before the city, and so attack them on both sides. Cominius, to avoid this inconvenience, divided his army, marching himself with one body to encounter those Volscians that made towards him from without; and leaving Titus Lartius (one of the bravest Romans of his time) to command the other, and still carry on the siege. Those within Corioli despising now the smallness of that number, made a brisk sally upon them, wherein they prevailed at first, and pursued the Romans to their trenches. Here Marcius with a small party flying out to their assistance, cut in pieces the first of the enemy that were in his way, stood the shock of the rest, and stopped them in their full career; then with a great shout recalled the Romans. For he had (what Cato required in a soldier) not only an irresistible force in his arm, but the very sound of his voice, and fierceness of his aspect, struck terror and confusion into the enemy. Divers of his own party then rallying and making up to him, the enemies were terrified, and immediately retreated. But Marcius, not content to see them retire, pressed hard upon the rear, and drove them, as they fled away in haste, to the very gates of their city; where perceiving that the Romans desisted from the pursuit, beaten off by a multitude of darts poured down upon them from the walls, and that none of his followers had the hardiness to think of falling in among the fugitives, and forcing an entrance with them into the city, in which the enemies were so numerous and so well armed; he earnestly requested them to continue the pursuit, and animated and encouraged them by his words and actions, crying out, *That fortune had now set*

open Corioli, not so much to shelter the vanquished, as to receive the conquerors. He had no sooner spoken thus, but seconded by a few that were willing to venture with him, he forced his way through the midst of the enemies, and entered the gates along with them, no one daring to resist him. But when he looked round him, and could discern but a very small number of assistants who had slipped in to engage in that hazardous service, and saw that friends and enemies were now mingled together, then collecting all his force, he performed the most extraordinary and incredible actions, with amazing strength, agility, and courage breaking through all opposition, constraining some to shift for themselves in the furthest corners of the city, and others to throw down their weapons, as thinking all resistance vain. By all which he gave Titus Lartius a fair occasion to bring in the rest of the Romans with ease and safety.

Corioli being thus taken, the greater part of the soldiers fell presently to pillage, and were wholly employed in seizing and carrying off the booty; at which Marcius was highly offended, and reproached them for it as a dishonourable and unworthy thing, that whilst the consul and their fellow-citizens were now perhaps encountering the other Volscians, and were hazard-  
ing their lives in battle, they should basely mispend their time in running up and down in quest of plunder, or, under a pretence of enriching themselves, decline the present danger. There were however but few that would hearken to him. Putting himself then at the head of those who were willing to follow him, he took that road where the consul's army had marched before him, often exciting his companions, and beseeching them as they went along, that they would not falter and give out; praying often to the gods too, that he might be so happy as to arrive before the fight was over, and come seasonably up to assist

sist Cominius, and partake in the peril of that action.

It was customary with the Romans of that age, when they stood in battle-array, and were taking up their bucklers, and girding their gowns about them, to make at the same time a verbal testament, and to name who should be their heirs in the hearing of three or four witnesses : in this posture did Marcius find them at his arrival, the enemy being advanced within view. They were not a little disordered by his first appearance, seeing him all over bloody and sweating, and attended with a small train ; but when he hastily made up to the consul with an air of gladness in his looks, giving him his hand, and recounting to him how the city had been taken ; when they saw Cominius also embrace and salute Marcius upon that discourse, then every one took heart afresh, and both such as were near enough to hear the relation of his success, and those who, being at a greater distance, could only guess what had happened by the manner of their greeting, besought the consul with a loud voice, that he would lead them on to engage the enemy. But Marcius first desired to know how the Volscians had disposed their order of battle, and where they had placed their chief strength ; Cominius told him he thought that the troops of the Antiates in the main body were the best soldiers, and inferior to none in bravery : *Let me then beg of you, says Marcius, that I may be placed directly opposite to these daring people.* The consul granted his request, admiring much his ardour and alacrity. When the conflict was begun, Marcius sallied out before the rest, and charged with so much fury, that the vanguard of the Volscians were not able to stand their ground : for wheresoever he attacked them, he presently broke their ranks ; but the parties rallying again, and inclosing him on each side, the consul, who observed the danger he was in, dispatched some of  
the



the choicest men he had for his speedy rescue. The dispute then growing warm about Marcius, and many being killed in a short time, the Romans bore so hard upon the enemies, and pressed them with such violence, that they put them to flight; and going now to prosecute the victory, they befought Marcius, tired with his toils, and faint through loss of blood, that he would retire to the camp; but he replying, *that weariness was a thing which did not besit conquerors*, joined with them in the pursuit. The whole army of the Volscians was defeated, a great multitude being slain, and many taken. The next morning Marcius being sent for, and the rest of the army being assembled about the consul's tent, Cominius mounted the tribunal, and having in the first place rendered to the gods the acknowledgments due for that important victory, he then addressed himself to Marcius, whom he highly extolled for his many signal exploits, part of which he had been an eye-witness of himself, and had heard the rest from Lartius. He then desired him to chuse a tenth part of all the treasure, and horses, and captives, that had fallen into their hands, before any division should be made to others; beside which, he made him the present of a horse adorned with rich trappings. This action being highly applauded by the whole army, Marcius stepped forth and declared his thankful acceptance of the horse, and how extremely satisfied he was with the praise which the consul had bestowed upon him; but as for other things, which he looked upon rather as mercenary pay than any significations of honour, he waved them all, and desired to share them equally with the rest of the army. *I have only, says he, one favour to beg, and this I hope you will not deny me. There was among the Volscians a certain friend of mine, bound with me in the sacred rites of hospitality, a person of great probity and virtue, who now is become a prisoner, and from the wealth and freedom wherein he lived,*

ved, is reduced to poverty and servitude; the man has fallen under many misfortunes, but he would think it a sufficient deliverance, if my intercession shall redeem him from this one at least, the being sold as a slave. These words of Marcius were followed with still louder acclamations, and he had many more admirers of this generous resolution, by which he conquered avarice, than of the valour he had shown in subduing his enemies. For those very persons that were touched with envy at seeing so many honours heaped upon him, could not but acknowledge that he was worthy of still greater for thus nobly declining them, and were more in love with that virtue of his, which made him despise such advantages, than that whereby he had deserved them. For it is much more commendable to make a right use of riches, than of arms, and still more honourable and heroic to despise them, than to know how to make a right use of them. When the acclamations ceased, and silence was obtained, Cominius turning to the people, said, *There is no way, fellow-soldiers, of forcing these gifts of ours on a person so unwilling to accept them: let us therefore give him, what it is not in his power to refuse; let us pass a vote that he shall hereafter be called Coriolanus, unless you think his behaviour at Corioli has itself prevented us in decreeing him that title.* Hence came his third name of *Coriolanus*. By which it appears, that *Caius* was his proper name; that the second, or surname, *Marcius*, was a name common to his house and family; and that the third Roman appellative was a peculiar note of distinction, given afterwards on account of some particular fact, or fortune, or signature, or virtue of him that bore it: for thus also among the Greeks additional titles were given to some for their exploits, as *Soter*, that is, *the preserver*, and *Callinicus*, *the famous conqueror*; to others for something remarkable in their shape, as *Physcon*, *big-bellied*, or *Grypus*, *eagle-nosed*; or for their good qualities, as *Euergetes*, *the benefactor*,

benefactor, and *Philadelphus*, the lover of his brethren; or their good fortune, as *Eudamon*, the prosperous, an epithet given to the second prince of the Batti. Several princes also have had names appropriated to them in reproach and mockery, as *Antigonus* that of *Doson*, or one that was liberal only in the future, since he always promised, but never performed; and *Ptolemy*, who was styled *Lamyrus*, or the buffoon. Appellations of this kind were very much in use among the Romans. One of the *Metelli* was surnamed by them *Diadematus*, because he had for a long time together walked about with his head bound up, by reason of an ulcer in his forehead. Another of the same family they called *Celer*, i. e. the swift or nimble, for that expedition with which he procured them a funeral entertainment of gladiators, within a few days after his father's death; the dispatch which he used on this occasion, being thought very extraordinary. There are some who even at this day derive their names from certain casual incidents at their nativity; one for instance, who happens to be born when his father is abroad in a foreign country, they call *Proculus*; but if after his father's decease, they style him *Posthumus*; and when two twins come into the world, whereof one dies at the birth, the survivor of them is called *Popiscus*. Nay, they denominate not only their *Syllas* and *Nigers*, that is, men of a pimpled or swarthy visage, but their *Cæci* and *Claudii*, the blind and the lame, from such corporal blemishes and defects; thus wisely accustoming their people not to reckon either the loss of sight, or any other bodily misfortune, as a matter of ignominy and disgrace to them, but to answer to these appellations as their proper names. But to treat of these things, is not so proper to the argument I have now in hand.

The war against the *Volscians* was no sooner at an end, but the popular tribunes and factious orators



tors began again to revive domestic troubles, and raise another sedition, without any new cause of complaint or just grievance to proceed upon; but those very mischiefs that unavoidably ensued from their former differences and contests, were then made use of as a ground to quarrel with the nobility. The greatest part of their arable land had been left unfown and without tillage\*, and the time of war allowing them no means or leisure to fetch in provision from other countries, there was an extreme scarcity in Rome†. The leaders of the people then observing that there was neither corn brought into the market, or if there had been any to supply them, yet that the people wanted money to buy it, began to calumniate the wealthy, as if they, from remembrance of the former quarrel, and to revenge themselves, had purposely contrived it thus, to bring a famine upon the poor. While these things were in agitation, there came an embassy from the Velitrani, who delivered up their city to the Romans, desiring that they would send some new inhabitants to people it, inasmuch as a late pestilential disease had made such havock and destruction among the inhabitants, that there was hardly a tenth part of them remaining. This sad necessity of the Velitrani was considered by the more prudent sort as a seasonable relief to themselves; for not only the dearth of victuals had

\* Dionysius of Halicarnassus observes, that the people withdrew to the sacred mountain soon after the autumnal equinox, just before seed-time; and as some of the husbandmen and farmers had espoused the party of the rich, and others that of the poor, the fields were left untilled; and when at last the troubles were composed, it was so late in the year, (for it was not effected till the winter sostice), it was impossible to make good the time that had been lost; for they had made no provision for seed-corn, their draught-horses were dead, and their slaves run away.

† They sent to buy some among the Volscians, at Cumæ, and in Sicily. The Volscians used their factors very roughly; Aristodemus seized the corn they had bought at Cumæ; and those who undertook the service in Sicily, met with very stormy weather at sea, and could not for a long time arrive with their supplies.

made

made it needful to ease and unburden the city of its superfluous members, but they hoped also at the same time to scatter and dissolve the faction which now threatened them, by discharging the most restless and turbulent of the people, who were as dangerous to the state, as a redundancy of morbid humours is to the body. Such as these therefore the consuls singled out to supply the desolation at Velitræ, and gave notice to others that they should be ready to march against the Volscians, which was politically designed to prevent intestine broils, by employing them abroad. And there was reason to presume, that when both the rich and the poor, the Plebeians and the Patricians, should be mingled again in the same army, and the same camp, and engage in one common service and danger for the public, it would mutually dispose them to reconciliation and friendship.

But Sicinius and Brutus, the two factious tribunes, opposed both these designs; exclaiming publicly, that the consuls disguised the most cruel action in the world, under the mild and plausible name of sending a colony, and were precipitating so many poor citizens, as it were, into the very gulf of perdition, by removing them to settle in an infectious air, and a place that was covered with noisome carcases, and exposing them to the fury of a strange and revengeful deity; and then, as if it would not satisfy their hatred, to destroy some by hunger, and expose others to the plague, they involved them also in a needless war of their own choosing; that every kind of calamity might fall upon the city at once, because it refused to continue any longer in slavery to the rich.

By this kind of discourse, the people were so irritated that none of them would appear upon the consular summons to be listed for the war; and they as little relished the proposal for a new colony. This put the senate into great perplexity. But  
Marcius,

Marcus, whose spirit was greatly elated by the honours he had acquired, and who was held in the highest esteem by the nobility, openly and warmly opposed the tribunes, so that, in spite of them, a colony was dispatched to Velitræ; those who were chosen by lot being obliged to go thither under severe penalties. But when he saw them obstinately persist in refusing to enrol themselves for the Volscian expedition, Marcus \* then mustered up his own clients, and as many others as could be wrought upon by persuasion; and with these he made an inroad into the territories of the Antiates, where finding a considerable quantity of corn, and much booty both of cattle and prisoners, he reserved nothing for himself, but those who ventured out with him returned loaded with rich pillage. This made the rest who staid at home repent of their perverseness, and envy such as had sped so well by the enterprise; they were also much displeased with Marcus, and repined at the honours which he continued to acquire, looking upon the increase of his power as a diminution of that of the people. Not long after this he stood for the consulship †; then they began to relent, and inclined to favour him, as being sensible what a shame it would be to repulse and affront a man of his family and courage, and that too after he had done so many signal services to the public. It was the custom for those who pretended to offices and dignities among them, to solicit and caress the people at their general assemblies, clad only in a loose gown, without any coat under it, either because such an humble habit seemed best to suit the character of a suppliant, or because those who had received wounds in war might

\* Several of the patricians voluntarily offered to serve in that war. These were followed by their clients, to whom were joined some of the people; and Coriolanus being attended by his own friends and clients, went at the head of them. *Dionys. lib. 7.*

† It was the next year, being the third of the seventy-second Olympiad, 488 years before the birth of our Saviour.



thus more readily show the visible tokens of their fortitude: for it was not from any suspicion the people then had of bribery, that they required such as petitioned them to appear ungirt and open without any close garment; for it was much later, and many ages after this, that buying and selling crept in at their elections, and money was an ingredient in the public suffrages. But when this practice was introduced, it reached even to their tribunals and camps, arms were subdued by money, and the commonwealth changed into a monarchy; for it was justly observed by some one, *That the person who first began to give treats and largesses to the people, was he that first deprived them of their power.* But the mischief it seems stole secretly in, and by degrees, not being presently discerned and taken notice of at Rome; for it is not certainly known who the man was that did there first bribe either the citizens, or the judges; but in Athens it is said, that Anytus the son of Anthemion was the first that gave money to the judges, toward the latter end of the Peloponnesian war, he being then accused of treachery, for delivering up the fort of Pyle; whilst uncorrupt judges, the remains of the golden age, as yet presided in the Roman courts. When Marcius, therefore, showed the scars and gashes that were still visible in his body, from those innumerable battles wherein he had successively engaged, and always victoriously signalised himself for seventeen years together; out of reverence for his virtue the people were ashamed to reject him, and therefore agreed to chuse him consul. But when the day of election was come, and Marcius appeared at the place where they were to give their votes, with a pompous train of senators attending him, and all the patricians manifestly expressed a greater concern, and acted more vigorously in this particular, than they had ever done before on the like occasion; the commons then fell off again from all the kindness

kindness they had conceived for him, and their late benevolence was changed into envy and indignation. The malignity of which passions was assisted too, by the general fear they were in, that if a man, who was desirous of increasing the power of the senate, and was so highly respected by the nobility, should be invested with all the power which that office would give him, he might utterly deprive the people of their liberty. For these reasons they rejected Marcius. When two others were declared consuls, the senate took it extremely ill, reckoning that the indignity reflected more on themselves than Marcius, who for his own part was more sensibly mortified at this proceeding, and could not bear the disgrace with any temper: for he had been used to indulge the more violent and impetuous passions of his soul, as if there was something of dignity and grandeur in such transports; but he had not a due mixture of that gravity and gentleness, which are virtues so necessary in the conduct of political affairs, and which are the effects of mature reason, and a good education; he did not consider, that whoever undertakes to manage public business, and converse with men, must above all things avoid pride and obstinacy, which, as Plato says, *are the companions of solitude*, and must endeavour to recommend himself by those qualities, so much derided by the ignorant and injudicious, patience and forbearance. Whereas Marcius being plain and artless, but ever rigid and inflexible, and strongly persuaded, that to vanquish opposition was the proper work of fortitude, and not considering this impetuosity rather as the weakness and effeminacy of a distempered mind, from which these violent passions break out, like the swelling of a bruised and painful part, left the assembly in great disorder, being bitterly enraged against the people. The younger patricians, who valued themselves most on account of their birth, and made the greatest figure

in the city, were always wonderfully devoted to his interest; and at this time by attending upon him, and condoling with him unhappily contributed to inflame his resentment; for he was their leader in every expedition, and a kind instructor in all martial affairs; he inspired them also with a truly virtuous emulation, and taught them to enjoy the praise of their own good actions without envying or detracting from others.

In the midst of these commotions a great quantity of corn was brought into Rome, part of which had been bought up in Italy; the remainder was sent from Syracuse, as a present from Gelo, king of Sicily; so that many began to have good hopes of their affairs, expecting the city would by this means be delivered at once both from its want and discord. The senate being thereupon immediately called, the people came flocking about the senate-house, eagerly attending the issue of that deliberation, and expecting that the market-rates would be easy for that which had been bought, and that that which was sent as a gift, would be distributed gratis among them; for there were some within who advised the senate thus to moderate the price of the one, and give such orders for the disposal of the other. But Marcius standing up, sharply inveighed against those who spoke in favour of the multitude, calling them *flatterers of the rabble, and traitors to the senate*; affirming, *That by such mean and foolish gratifications they nourished those pernicious seeds of boldness and petulance, that had been sown among the people, to their own prejudice; that they ought to have observed and stifled them at their first appearance, and not have suffered the plebeians to grow so strong, by giving such exorbitant authority to their tribunes; that the senate had rendered the people formidable by complying with them in whatever they demanded, and yielding to their humour; so that living in a sort of anarchy, they would no longer obey the consuls, or own any superiors,*  
but



but the heads and leaders of their own faction; and now, for us, says he, to sit here and decree largesses and distributions for them, like the Grecians, where the populace is supreme and absolute; what would it be else but to cherish and indulge their insolence, to the ruin of us all? For surely they will not pretend to these liberalities, as a reward of military service, which they have so often deserted; nor of that seditious retreat by which they abandoned their country; or of those slanders they have been always ready to promote against the senate; but will rather conclude that this bounty must be the effect of our fear and flattery; and so they will expect still further submissions, and there will be no end of their disobedience, nor will they ever cease from their turbulent and seditious practices. To do this therefore, would be direct madness in us. Nay, if we are wise, we shall immediately destroy that tribunicial power of theirs, which is a plain subversion of the consulship, and has caused such an opposition of interests in the city as leaves no hope of our ever being united as formerly, or ever ceasing to distress and torment each other. Marcius having said a great deal to this purpose \*, inspired the young senators with the same furious sentiments, and had almost all the rich on his side, who extolled him as the only man in the city that was insuperable by force, and an enemy to flattery. But some of the elder senators opposed him, suspecting the bad consequence of such a proceeding, which proved accordingly; for the tribunes who were then present, perceiving how the proposal of Marcius took, ran out into the croud, exclaiming, and calling on the plebeians to stand together, and come in to their assistance. The people therefore flocking together with great noise and tumult, were informed of Marcius's proposal; whereupon, they fell into such a

\* Plutarch has omitted the most aggravating and terrible passage in Coriolanus's charge against the people, wherein he proposes, that, in order to tame them, they ought to sell the corn at as high a rate as when they were under the greatest scarcity.

rage, that they were ready to break in upon the senate. The tribunes then cited Marcius to appear before them, and give an account of his behaviour; and when he had repulsed those officers with contempt that brought him the summons, they came presently themselves with the ædiles, designing to carry him away by force, and accordingly attempted to seize his person. But the nobility coming in to his rescue, thrust off the tribunes, and beat the ædiles, and then the night approaching, broke off the quarrel. But as soon as it was day, the consuls observing the people highly exasperated, and that they ran from all quarters into the forum, were afraid for the whole city; so convening the senate again, they desired them to *consult how by kind words, and mild determinations, they might pacify and compose the raging multitude: for if they prudently considered the state of their affairs, they must find that it was not now a time to stand upon punctilios of honour, and contend for reputation; but that such a dangerous and critical conjuncture demanded gentle methods and good-natured counsels.* The majority of the senate coming into these measures, the consuls went out to speak to the people, and endeavoured to appease their resentment as much as possible, answering mildly to their complaints, and mixing tender admonitions and reproaches in their discourse to them. And as to a supply of the market with provisions, and at reasonable rates, they said there should be no difference at all between them. When a great part of the commonalty were grown cool, as appeared by their orderly and quiet attention to the consuls, the tribunes stood up and declared, that since the senate were at length pleased to submit to reason, the people in their turn were ready to condescend to all things that were fair and equitable; but at the same time they demanded Marcius to give his answer to these particulars: first, *Whether he could deny that he had incited the senate to subvert the govern-*  
*ment,*

ment, and destroy the authority of the people? and in the next place, *Whether when he was called to account for it, he did not disobey their summons?* and last of all, *Whether by the blows and other public affronts given to the ædiles, he did not, as far as was in his power, commence a civil war, and stir up the citizens to take arms one against another?* These articles were brought on purpose either to humble Marcius, and make it appear he was of a mean spirit, if, contrary to his nature, he should now stoop to and court the people; or if he still kept up to the height of his resolution, (which they had greater hopes of, guessing rightly at the man), to make him incur their displeasure to such a degree, that they should be for ever irreconcilable. Coriolanus therefore appearing as it were to justify himself from the impeachment, the people stood silent, and were disposed to give him a quiet hearing. But when, instead of the submissive language which was expected, he began not only to use an offensive freedom, and to make an accusation rather than an apology; but by his fierce tone of voice, as well as the stern, intrepid air of his countenance, demonstrated a security little differing from disdain and contempt, the whole multitude was incensed, and expressed their disgust and indignation at his discourse. Hereupon Sicinius, the boldest of all the tribunes, after a short conference with the rest of his colleagues, pronounced before them all, *that Marcius was condemned to die by the tribunes of the people*; and commanded the ædiles to drag him immediately up to the Tarpeian rock, and throw him headlong from the precipice. But when they went to seize him, the action appeared horrible and insolent, even to many of the plebeian party. But the patricians were so much affected with it, that in a transport of passion they cried all for help, and surrounding Marcius, got him among them, whilst some made use of their hands to keep off the arrest, and others stretched out theirs in supplication



supplication to the multitude. But in so great a hurry and tumult, there was no good to be done by words and outcries, till the friends and acquaintance of the tribunes perceiving it would be impossible to carry off Marcius to punishment without much bloodshed and slaughter of the nobility, persuaded them to drop the unusual and odious part of it, and not to dispatch him violently, and without the due forms of justice, but refer all to the general suffrage of the people. Then Sicinius desisting a little, demanded of the patricians, *what they meant by thus forcibly rescuing Marcius out of the hands of the people, when they were going to inflict due punishment on him?* The senate in reply demanded of him again, *What he meant by thus haling one of the worst men in Rome to such a barbarous and illegal execution, without a trial?* If that be all, said Sicinius, *it shall serve you no longer as a pretence for your quarrels and factious differences with the people; they grant what you require, that the man be judged according to course of law. And as for you, Marcius, we assign you the third market-day to make your appearance and defence, and to try if you can satisfy the citizens of your innocence, who will then by vote determine your fate.* The patricians were content with a respite for that time, and returned home well satisfied, having brought off Marcius in safety. In the mean time, before the third market-day, (for the Romans hold their markets every ninth day, which from thence are called in Latin *Nundinæ*), a war broke out with the Antiates\*, which, because it was like to be of some continuance, gave them hopes of evading the judgment,

\* Advice was brought on a sudden to Rome, that the Antiates had seized on the ships belonging to Gelo's ambassadors in their return to Sicily; that they had confiscated the ships, and put the ambassadors in prison. Hereupon the Romans took up arms for the deliverance of their friends and allies; but the Antiates perceiving the storm was ready to fall upon them, submitted and asked pardon; at the same time releasing the ambassadors, and restoring their effects,

presuming

presuming that the people would grow mild and tractable, and that their fury would lessen by degrees, if not totally cease, while they were taken up with that expedition. But the people of Antium having made a peace with the Romans sooner than was expected, the army returned home, and the patricians were again in great perplexity, and had frequent meetings among themselves, to consult how things might be so managed that they should neither desert Marcius, nor give occasion to the tribunes to throw the people into new disorders. Appius Claudius, who was most of all averse to the popular interest, solemnly declared, *That the senate would utterly destroy itself, and betray the government, if they should once suffer the people to become their judges, and to assume the authority of pronouncing capital sentence upon any of the patricians.* But the oldest, and most inclined to popularity, delivered it as their opinion, *That the people would not be too hard and severe upon them, but more kind and gentle by the concession of such a power: for, said they, they do not condemn the senate, but are afraid of being condemned by it; and the allowance of such a prerogative of judging will be so great an honour and satisfaction to them, that as soon as they obtain it, they will drop their animosities.* When Coriolanus saw the senate in suspense upon his account, divided between the kindness they had for him and their apprehensions from the people, he desired to know of the tribunes the crimes they intended to charge him with, and the heads of the accusation which he was to answer before the people; and being told that he was to be accused of a design to assume a tyrannical power \*; *Let me go then,* said he,

\* He knew at first view the absurdity of such a charge, which it was impossible for them to make good against him, because, as he himself says in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, it was never known that any person, in order to become a tyrant, joined with the nobility against the people, but on the contrary conspired with the people to destroy the nobility. Besides, he did not doubt but the whole course of his life would manifestly justify him against such an accusation.

*to clear myself of that imputation before them; and I promise to refuse no sort of cognisance touching this article, nor any punishment whatever, if I be convicted of it; provided you keep to that alone, and do not impose upon the senate.* Which when they had promised, upon those conditions he submitted to his trial.

The people being met, the first thing the tribunes did was to obtain by force that the suffrages should be taken by tribes, and not by centuries\*; whereby the most indigent, factious, and worthless of the people, would be sure to carry it at the poll, against the more wealthy citizens as well as against the military men, and patricians. In the next place, whereas they had engaged to prosecute Marcius upon no other head but that of tyranny, (which could never be proved against him), they waved and relinquished this plea, and instead of it repeated some things which he had formerly spoken in the senate, when he dissuaded them from making an abatement of the price of corn, and advised them to abolish the tribunical power; adding further, as a new impeachment, the distribution that was made by him of the spoil he had taken from the Antiates, when he over-run their country, which he had divided among his followers instead of bringing it into the public treasury†. This last accusation, they

\* For the nobility, and the more wealthy, had the strongest interest in the centuries, which would have been in favour of Coriolanus, for out of 183 centuries he was sure of, at least, 98; that is, the whole first class, consisting of the knights and the wealthiest of the citizens; whereas the populace had the greatest interest in the tribes; therefore the tribunes were sure of carrying their point, though never so unjust, by that way of voting. The reader may find this matter handled at large in Dionys. lib. vii.

† When Decius the tribune perceived the tribes began to be touched with Coriolanus's defence, and were upon the point of acquitting him, he produced this new article; not that this distribution of the spoils was in itself what they imputed to him; but the tribunes would have it inferred from thence, that he did it in order to corrupt the forces, that by their assistance he might be able to enslave his country, and secure to himself the tyranny.



say, more surpris'd and discompos'd Marcius than all the rest, as not expecting he should ever be questioned upon that subject, and therefore being less provided to give a satisfactory answer to it on the sudden. But when, by way of excuse, he began to magnify the merits of those who had been partakers with him in the action, such as staid at home being more numerous than the others, so disturb'd him by the noise they made, that he could not proceed upon that argument. At last, when they came to vote, he was condemn'd by a majority of three tribes; and the penalty to which they adjudg'd him, was perpetual banishment. After declaration of the sentence, the people went away with greater joy and triumph than they had ever shown for any victory over their enemies. But the senate was deeply grieved and dejected; regretting now that they had not done and suffer'd any thing rather than give way to the people's insolence, and let them assume so great authority. There was no need then to look upon their habit, or other marks of distinction, to discern a senator from any vulgar citizen, for it soon appear'd that the cheerful and gay were all plebeians; and you might know a patrician by his sorrowful countenance. Marcius alone was not shock'd or humbled in the least, appearing still in his gesture, motion, and aspect, the same steady man, and among all others of his rank, that were so deeply touch'd, alone unaffected with his misfortune. But this insensibility was not owing to reason, humanity, patience, and moderation; but to the violence of his indignation and resentment. And though the generality of mankind are not sensible of it, this is ever the state of a mind sunk in grief. That passion, when at the height, turns to a sort of madness, and banishes out of the mind all weakness and dejection. Hence likewise it is that an angry man seems courageous, as one in a fever is hot, the soul being as it were on the stretch,

stretch, and in a violent agitation. Such was Marcius's case, as he showed immediately by his actions; for, upon his return home, he embraced his mother and wife, who were all in tears; and taking his leave of them, he exhorted them to bear their afflictions patiently. This done, he hastened to one of the city-gates, whither all the nobility attended him; and there, without receiving or asking any thing from them, he left the city, accompanied with only three or four of his clients. He continued solitary for a few days in some of his villas near Rome, distracted with variety of thoughts, such as rage and indignation suggested; in which he proposed not any honour or advantage to himself, but only considered how he might satisfy his revenge against the Romans; for which purpose, at last, he resolved to raise a heavy war against them.

In order to this, his business was in the first place to make trial of the Volscians, whom he knew to be still vigorous and flourishing enough both in men and treasure; and he imagined their force and power was not so much abated, as their hatred and animosity was increased by the late defeats they had received from the Romans. There was a man of Antium, called *Tullus Amphidius* \*, who, for his wealth and courage, and the splendour of his family, had the respect and privilege of a king among all the Volscians, but one whom Marcius knew to have a particular malice against him above any Roman whatsoever; for frequent menaces and challenges having passed between them as they met in the field, by often defying each other, through a competition in valour, (as such zeal and emulation is usual among young warriors), they had, beside the common quarrel of their country, a personal enmity and hatred to each other. But notwithstanding this, considering the great generosity of Tullus, and that none of the Volscians did so much desire

\* Livy and Dionysius call him *Tullus Arvius*.

an occasion to return upon the Romans some part of the evils they had received from them, he ventured at a thing which strongly confirms that saying of the poet ;

*Stern anger rules with unresisted sway ;*

*Though life's the forfeit, yet we must obey\*.*

For putting on such cloaths and habiliments, by which he might appear most unlike the person he was, to all that should see him, as Homer says of Ulysses,

*He stole into the hostile town. —*

He arrived at Antium about evening ; and though several met him in the streets, yet he passed along without being known to any, and went directly on to the house of Tullus ; where stealing in undiscovered, he presently made up to the fire-place †, and seated himself there, silent and motionless, and with his head covered. Those of the family could not but wonder at him, and yet they were afraid to disturb him, for there was a certain air of majesty about him, which showed itself both in his posture and his silence. Therefore they related this extraordinary adventure to Tullus, who was then at supper ; he immediately rose from table, and coming to Coriolanus, asked him, *Who he was, and for what business he came thither ?* Whereupon Marcius unmuffling himself, and pausing a while, *If,* says he, *thou canst not yet call me to mind, Tullus, if after seeing me thou canst doubt who I am, I must of necessity be my own accuser. Know therefore that I am Caius Marcius, the author of so much mischief to thee and to the Volscians ; which if I should offer to deny, the surname of Coriolanus I now bear, would be a sufficient evidence against me : for*

\* It is not known what poet was the author of these verses.

† The fire-place which was esteemed sacred ; thither therefore all suppliants resorted, as to an asylum.



*I have no other recompense to boast of, for all the hardships and perils I have gone through during the wars between us, but a title that proclaims my enmity to your nation; and this is the only thing which is still left me; as for other advantages, I have been stripped of them all at once by the envy and outrage of the Roman people, and by the cowardice and treachery of the magistrates, and those of my own order; so that I am driven out as an exile, and become an humble suppliant before thy household gods, not so much for safety and protection, (for what should make me come hither, had I been afraid to die?), as to seek and procure vengeance against those who have expelled me from my country; and, methinks, I have already obtained it, by putting myself into thy hands: if thou hast a mind to attack thy enemies, come on, Tullus, reap the benefit of my miseries, and render my personal calamities a national advantage to the Volscians. I shall do so much more service in fighting for, than against you, as they can manage a war better, who are privy to, than such as are unacquainted with the secrets of the enemy. If thou art averse to the war, it is neither fit for me to live, or thee to preserve a person who has been always thy enemy, and now when he would be thy friend, proves useless and unserviceable. Tullus was highly delighted at this discourse, and giving him his right hand, Rise, says he, Marcius, and take courage. The present you thus make of yourself is inestimable, and you may assure yourself that the Volscians will not be ungrateful. When he had said this, he took him instantly with him to the table, where he entertained him with great kindness and hospitality. The next and the following days they deliberated concerning the best method of conducting the war.*

While this design was forming, there were great troubles and commotions at Rome, from the animosity of the senators against the people, which was considerably heightened by the late condemnation of Marcius; and their soothsayers and priests, and even private persons, brought in fearful accounts

counts of signs and prodigies, that were very much to be regarded. One of them I shall mention here, which they report happened in this manner. Titus Latinus \*, one of ordinary condition, but yet a sober and virtuous man, free from all superstition on one hand, and much more from vanity and boasting on the other, dreamed that Jupiter appeared to him, and bid him tell the senate, *That at the games they had been celebrating to his honour, they had caused the procession to be conducted by an ill-favoured leader, which had much dishonoured him.* At first he did not much mind this vision, but having seen and slighted it a second and third time, his son, who was a very amiable youth, died suddenly, and he himself was struck with such a weakness, as to be entirely deprived of the use of his limbs. These things he related, being brought into the senate on a couch. It is said, that he had no sooner delivered his message, but he felt his strength and vigour return, so that he got upon his legs, and went home without any assistance. The senators being much surprised at it, made a strict inquiry into the matter; which proved to be this. A certain person had given up a servant of his to the rest of his fellows, with charge first to whip him through the Forum, and then to kill him. While they were executing this command, and scourging the fellow, who writhed and distorted his body in the most shocking manner, through the torture he was in, a solemn procession in honour of Jupiter chanced to follow †. Several of the assistants were very much scandalized, seeing the horrible sufferings and the indecent postures of the wretch, yet nobody would interpose, nor call the actors to account for it; they only ut-

\* Livy calls him *Titus Atinius*.

† Dionysius of Halicarnassus says, that the master had given express orders that the slave should be punished at the head of the procession, on purpose that the ignominy might be the more notorious. This indeed is a stronger ground for Jupiter's complaint.

tered some reproaches and curses against the master, for punishing his slave with such cruelty. For the Romans treated their servants with much humanity in those days, because they then worked and laboured themselves, and lived together among them, which produced a great degree of kindness and familiarity; and it was one of the greatest penances for a servant, who had committed a fault, to take up that piece of wood upon his shoulders where-with they supported the thill of a waggon, and carry it round about through the neighbourhood; and he that had once undergone the shame of this, and was seen by those of the household, and other inhabitants of the place, carrying that infamous burden, had no longer any trust or credit among them, but was styled *furcifer*, by way of reproach; for what the Greeks call *hypostates*, i. e. a prop, or supporter, is by the Latins termed *furca*. When therefore Latinus had informed them of this apparition, and all were considering who this ill-favoured leader might be; some of them having been affected with the strangeness of this punishment, remembered the slave that was lashed through the Forum, and afterwards put to death. The priests unanimously agreed, that this must be the person; accordingly the master had a heavy fine laid upon him, and they began the games anew with more magnificence, and with the utmost devotion.

The wisdom of Numa in the appointment of religious ceremonies appears in many instances, and particularly in this institution, that when the magistrates or priests perform any solemn religious service, a crier goes before, and proclaims aloud, *Hoc age*; which signifies, *Mind what you are about*; and so warns them carefully to attend to whatever sacred action they are engaged in, and not to suffer any other business or avocation to intervene and disturb the exercise; for he well knew that men perform few actions without a sort of violence and constraint,



constraint, and that they must be compelled by force to perseverance.

It was customary for the Romans to begin afresh their sacrifices, processions, and spectacles, not only on such an important cause as this, but for the most frivolous reasons; as when one of the horses which drew the chariots called *tensæ*, in which the images of their gods were placed, happened to stumble, or if the coachman took hold of the reins with his left hand, they passed a vote that the whole office should begin anew. And in the latter ages, the same sacrifice was performed thirty times over, because there seemed always to be some defect, or mistake, or offensive accident in it. So great was the reverence which the Romans paid to the Deity,

In the mean time, Marcius and Tullus privately consulted with the chief men of Antium, advising them to invade the Romans while they were at variance among themselves. The respects of shame and decency hindered them at first from embracing the motion, because they had sworn to observe a truce for the space of two years. But the Romans themselves soon furnished them with a pretence, by making proclamation (out of an ill-grounded jealousy and slanderous report) in the midst of their shows and exercises, that all the Volscians who came thither to see them, should depart the city before sun-set. There are some \* who affirm that all this was a contrivance of Marcius, who sent one privately to the consuls falsely to accuse the Volscians, as if they intended to fall upon the Romans during their public sports, and fire the city. This affront provoked all that nation to greater animosity than ever against the Romans. Tullus aggravated the fact, and so exasperated the people, that at last he persuaded them to dispatch ambassadors to Rome, to demand that part of their country, and those

\* Among these are Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Livy.

towns, which had been taken from them in the late war \*. The Romans received this message with indignation, and replied, *That if the Volscians took up arms first, the Romans should be the last that would lay them down.* Upon this, Tullus called a general assembly of the Volseians, where the vote passing for war, he advised them to send for Marcius, laying aside all former resentments, and assuring themselves, that the service they should now receive from him, as an ally, would exceed the damage he had done them when their enemy. Marcius was called, and having made an oration to the people, it appeared he knew how to speak as well as fight, and that he excelled in prudence as well as courage. So he was immediately joined in commission with Tullus. Marcius, fearing lest the time requisite for the Volscian preparations might make him lose the opportunity of action, left orders with the chief men and governors of the city to assemble the troops, and provide the other necessaries, while himself having prevailed upon some of the most bold and forward to march out with him as volunteers without staying to be inrolled, made a sudden incursion into the Roman territories, when nobody expected them, and got there such plenty of plunder, that the Volscians were tired with carrying it off, and could not consume it all in their camp. But the abundance of provisions which he gained, and the waste and havock which he made of the country, were in his account the smallest things in that invasion. What he chiefly intended by it, and for the sake whereof he did all the rest, was to increase the people's suspicions against the nobles.

\* It was not Tullus, but Coriolanus, who gave this advice. The demand was of a very malicious tendency; for either the Romans must refuse to comply with it, and so inevitably involve themselves in a war; or if they complied, all their neighbours, the Æqui, the Albans, those of Etruria, and many others, would make the same demands, and thereby drive the Romans to the very brink of ruin.

To which end, in spoiling all the fields, and destroying the goods of other men, he took particular care to preserve the lands of the patricians, and would not allow his soldiers to ravage there, or seize any thing which belonged to them; from whence their invectives and quarrels with one another grew higher than ever. The senators reproached the commonalty for unjustly banishing so considerable a person; and the people, on the other hand, accused the senators of bringing Coriolanus upon them out of enmity to the plebeians, that whilst they felt all the calamities of war, the nobility might sit like unconcerned spectators, being assured that the war itself would be the guardian of their lands and substance. After this expedition, which was of singular advantage to the Volscians, by inspiring them with courage and contempt of the enemy, Marcius brought his troops safely back. But when the whole strength of the Volscians was with great expedition and alacrity brought together into the field, it appeared so considerable a body, that they agreed to leave part thereof in garrison for the security of their towns, and with the remainder to march against the Romans. Coriolanus then desired Tullus to chuse which of the two charges he pleased, and to leave him the other; Tullus answered, *That since he knew Marcius to be equally valiant with himself, and far more fortunate in all engagements, he would have him take the command of those that were going out to the war, while he took care to defend their cities at home, and provide all conveniencies for the army abroad* \*. Marcius

\* There were other reasons that induced Tullus to yield to Coriolanus the command of the army that was to march against the Romans, of which one was purely political. It would have been a great weakness in Tullus to have left Coriolanus at the head of an army in the bowels of his country, whilst he was marching at the head of another against Rome. If in that case there should have happened a good understanding between Coriolanus and the Romans, the consequence might have been fatal.

therefore



therefore being thus reinforced, and much stronger than before, moved first towards Circaëum, a Roman colony; which surrendering at discretion was secured from pillage\*. And passing thence, he entered and laid waste the country of the Latins, where it was expected the Romans would have come to their assistance, and fought against him in behalf of the Latins, who were their allies, and had often sent to demand succours from them; but because the people on their part showed little inclination for the service, and the consuls themselves were unwilling now to run the hazard of a battle when the time of their office drew so near its end, they dismissed the Latin ambassadors without any effect. Marcius therefore finding no army to oppose him, marched up to the very cities themselves; and having taken by assault Tolerium, Labicum, Pedum, and Bola, whose inhabitants had the courage to make some resistance, he not only plundered their houses, but sold the citizens for slaves. At the same time he showed a particular regard to all such as came over to his party; and was so tender of them, that, for fear they might sustain any damage against his will, he encamped still at the greatest distance he could, and wholly abstained from the lands which belonged to them. After this he took Boillæ, which was distant about twelve miles from Rome; where he put to the sword almost all who were of age to carry arms, and got much plunder. The other Volscians that were ordered to stay behind as a safeguard to their cities, hearing of his achievements and success, had not the patience to remain any longer at home, but came running with their arms to Marcius, and saying, *That he alone was their general, and the sole person they would own as a commander in chief over them.*

\* He only obliged the inhabitants to furnish cloaths for his army, to supply him with provisions for one month, and raise him a sum of money. This city stood on the confines of the Volscians.

His reputation was very great throughout Italy; and all admired the valour and skill of a man who, by changing sides, had himself alone given so great and sudden a turn to the affairs of two nations.

The Romans were now in very great disorder; for they were utterly averse from fighting, and spent their whole time in cabals, seditious discourses, and perpetual quarrels with each other; until news was brought that the enemy had laid close siege to Lavinium, wherein were the gods of their fathers, and from whence they derived their original, that being the first city which Æneas built in Italy. The news of this siege being soon spread over the whole city, produced a strange and sudden turn of mind among the people, but a very absurd and unexpected change among the patricians. For the former urged a repeal of the sentence against Marcius, and were for recalling him home; whereas the senate, being assembled to deliberate and resolve upon that point, finally rejected the proposition; either out of a perverse humour of contradicting the people in whatsoever they should propose, or because they were unwilling that he should owe his restoration to their kindness; or having now conceived a displeasure against Marcius himself, who harassed and distressed them all alike, though he had not been ill treated by all, and was become a declared enemy to his whole country, though he knew that the principal men, and all the better sort, condoled with him, and shared in his injuries\*.

This resolution of theirs being made public, the

\* Dionysius of Halicarnassus confesses he is at a loss to find out what it was that made the senate oppose the recalling of Coriolanus, and makes three conjectures concerning it. The first is, that the senate were willing to try if the people were steady in that resolution; the second, that by seeming to oppose it, they might make them the more earnest for it; and the third, that it would be a means to remove from the people the suspicion they had entertained that the patricians had excited Coriolanus to arm the Volscians against Rome.

people could proceed no further, as having no authority to pass any thing by suffrage, and enact it for a law, without a previous decree from the senate. But when Marcius came to hear of that vote for prohibiting his return, he was more exasperated than ever; insomuch that quitting the siege of Lavinium\*, he marched furiously towards Rome, and encamped at a place called *Fossæ Clæiæ*, about five miles from the city. The nearness of his approach was terrible, and caused great consternation; but it put an end to the animosities and dissensions for the present; for no one now, whether consul or senator, durst any longer oppose the people in their design of recalling Marcius; but seeing the women run frightened up and down the streets, and the old men praying in every temple with tears and earnest supplications; and that, in short, there was a general defect among them both of courage and wisdom, to provide for their own safety, they at last acknowledged, that the people had been very much in the right, to propose a reconciliation with Marcius; but that the senate had been guilty of a fatal error, in provoking him at a time when they should have studied rather to appease him. It was therefore unanimously agreed by all parties, that ambassadors should be sent offering to recall him, and desiring him to put an end to the war. The persons sent by the senate with this message, were chosen out of his kindred and acquaintance, who therefore expected a very kind reception at their first interview, on account of their familiarity and friendship with him. But it proved quite otherwise: for being led through the enemy's camp, they found him sitting with insupportable pride and arrogance, and surrounded by the principal men among the Volscians; he bid them declare the cause of their

\* He did not raise the siege. Dionysius of Halicarnassus writes that he left a body of his troops there to continue the blockade.

coming;



coming; which they did in the most modest and humble terms, and with a behaviour suitable to the occasion. When they had made an end of speaking, he returned them an answer, full of bitterness and resentment, as to what concerned himself, and the ill usage he had received from the Romans; but as general of the Volscians, he demanded *restitution of the cities and lands they had taken from them during the late war, and that the same rights and privileges should be granted to the Volscians at Rome which had before been granted to the Latins; without which just and reasonable conditions, no peace was to be obtained.* He allowed them thirty days to consider of his demands; and when they were retired, he decamped and left the Roman territories. This proceeding gave some of the Volscians, who had long envied his reputation, and could not endure to see the interest he had with the people, the first handle to calumniate and reproach him. Tullus himself was among the number of his enemies, not from any personal injury which he had received, but merely from human infirmity, and the vexation he felt in seeing his own glory thus totally obscured by that of Marcius, and himself neglected now by the Volscians, who had so great an opinion of their new leader, that he alone was instead of all to them, and they would have other captains be content with that share of government and power which he should think fit to vouchsafe them. From hence the first seeds of complaint and accusation were scattered about in secret; and his enemies assembling together, heightened each other's indignation, saying, that to retreat as he did, was in effect to betray and deliver up, though not their cities and their arms, yet the proper times and opportunities for action, upon the observation or neglect of which every thing else does naturally depend; seeing in less than thirty days space, for which he had given a respite from the war, there might happen

pen the greatest changes in the world. However, Marcius spent not any part of the time idly, but attacked and harassed the confederates of the enemy, and took from them seven great and populous cities in that interval \*. The Romans in the mean while durst not venture out to their relief; their spirits were grown dull and inactive, so that they felt no more disposition or capacity for the affairs of war, than if their bodies too had been benumbed with a palsy, and utterly destitute of sense and motion. When the thirty days were expired, and Marcius appeared again with his whole army, they sent another embassy, to beseech him that he would moderate his displeasure, and marching off with the Volscians, consider what was fit to be done, agreeable to the interest of both parties, remembering always that the Romans would not yield any thing out of fear; but if it were his opinion, that the Volscians ought to have some favour shown them, upon laying down their arms, they might obtain all they could in reason desire. The reply of Marcius was, that he should answer nothing thereto as general of the Volscians; but in quality still of a Roman citizen, he would advise them to behave with less haughtiness, and return to him before three days were at an end, with a ratification of those equal demands he had formerly made; for otherwise they should not have the same freedom and security of passing through his camp again upon such idle errands. When the ambassadors were come back, and had acquainted the senate with this resolute answer, they seeing the whole state now threatened as it were by a tempest, and the waves ready to overwhelm them, were forced, as we say, to let down the sacred an-

\* He had two views in this: the first, was to prevent the allies from assisting the Romans; and the second, to screen himself from the suspicions mentioned by Plutarch, and which he foresaw he should lie under.

chor; for there was a decree made, that the whole order of their priests, with such as officiated in religious mysteries, or had the care and custody of holy things, together with the augurs, who from the earliest times had practised the art of divination by birds, should all of them go in full procession to Marcius in the same dress and habit which they respectively used in their several functions or religious ceremonies; they were to enforce the former request, and entreat him to desist from the war, and then confer with his countrymen upon the articles of peace. He admitted them into his camp, but made them no concessions, nor did he behave or express himself with more civility or mildness upon their account; but told them, *that the Romans must either yield or fight; for the old terms were the only terms of peace.* When the priests too returned unsuccessful, the Romans determined to sit still within their city, and guard the walls; intending only to repulse the enemy, should he offer to attack them, and placing their hopes chiefly in the strange and extraordinary accidents of time and fortune. For as to themselves, they were unable to contrive any thing for their own deliverance; but confusion, and terror, and ill-boding reports, ran through the whole city. During these transactions, something happened not unlike what we so often meet with in Homer, which however most people will hardly believe; for when he upon great occasions, and some rare and unusual events, breaks out in this manner,

*But him the blue-eyed goddess then inspir'd.*—

And again,

*But some immortal pow'r who rules the mind,  
The wav'ring croud to other views inclin'd.*

And thus,

*The thought spontaneous rising in his mind,  
Or form'd obedient as some god injoin'd.*

VOL. II.

R

Ignorant



Ignorant men are ready here to despise and censure the poet, as if he destroyed the freedom of choice, and subjected mens reason to an influence entirely fictitious and incredible. Whereas Homer does nothing like it; for what is probable, and usual, and brought about by the ordinary way of reason, he attributes to our own power and will, and frequently speaks to this effect,

*But I consulted with myself alone.*

And in another place,

*Achilles heard, with grief and rage oppress'd,  
His heart swell'd high, and labour'd in his breast,  
Distracting thoughts by turns his bosom rul'd,  
Now fir'd by wrath, and now by reason cool'd.*

And again,

---

*But she in vain  
Tempted Bellerophon. The noble youth  
Was arm'd with wisdom, constancy, and truth.*

But in such things and actions as are unaccountably daring, and of a prodigious and transcendent kind, and therefore require something of enthusiasm and supernatural courage, he introduces God, not as taking away the liberty of our will, but as moving it to act freely; not as working in us the inclinations themselves, but as offering those ideas and objects to our minds, from whence the impulse is conceived, and the resolution formed. And this does not render the action involuntary, but only gives a beginning to spontaneous operations, and superadds confidence and good hope to what is thus willingly undertaken: for we must either totally exclude the Deity from all manner of causality and influence with regard to our actions, or confess that this is the only way in which he assists men, and co-operates with them; for surely the help which he affords us, cannot be imagined to consist in fashioning the postures

postures of our body, or directing the motions of our hands and feet, but in exciting the soul to choice and action, or in restraining and controlling its inclinations, by presenting certain motives and ideas.

In this perplexity of affairs, which I before mentioned, the Roman women went some of them to other temples ; but the greater part, and those of the best quality, were performing their devotion about the altar of Jupiter Capitolinus. Among these was Valeria, sister to Poplicola, a person who had done the Romans so many eminent services both in peace and war. Poplicola himself was now deceased (as I have mentioned in the history of his life), but Valeria lived still in great reputation and esteem at Rome, as one whose birth received an additional lustre from her virtue. She therefore being suddenly seized with an instinct or emotion of mind, not unlike those I just now spoke of, and happily lighting (not without a divine direction) on the right expedient, both arose herself, and caused the rest of the votaries to get up, and went directly with them toward the house of Volumnia, the mother of Marcius. When she came in, and found her sitting with her daughter-in-law, and having her little grandchildren on her lap, Valeria, surrounded by her female companions, spoke in the name of them all to this purpose.

*We who now make our appearance, O Volumnia, and Vergilia, approach as women unto women ; being come hither not by direction of the senate, or an order from the consuls ; but God himself, as I conceive, touched with compassion by our prayers, has moved us to visit you, and request a thing wherein our own and the common safety is concerned, and which, if you consent to it, will raise your glory above that of the daughters of the Sabins, who reduced their fathers and their husbands from mortal enmity to peace and friendship. Come then, and join with us in our supplication to Marcius, and bear this true and*

*just testimony to your country, that notwithstanding the many mischiefs and calamities she has suffered, yet she has never done any injury or showed any resentment to you, but now restores you safe into his hands, though perhaps she may not obtain from him any better terms for herself on that account.*

This discourse of Valeria was seconded by the loud approbations and entreaties of the other women. Volumnia made this answer.

*Beside the common calamities of our country, in which we bear an equal share with you, we have afflictions, which are peculiar to ourselves; for with our own eyes have we beheld the downfall of our Coriolanus's fame and virtue, since he is at present surrounded by the arms of the enemies of his country, not as their prisoner, but commander. But this is the greatest of our miseries, to see the affairs of Rome in so low and desperate a condition, as to have its last dependence on us. For how can we hope he will show any respect to us, when he has lost all regard to his country, which was once dearer to him than his mother, his wife, and his children? But make what use of us you please, and lead us to Coriolanus. Should he be deaf to our prayers, we can at last die for our country, and spend our latest breath in making supplications to him for its deliverance.*

Having spoken thus, \* she took Vergilia by the hand, and the young children, and accompanied the other women to the Volscian camp. So extraordinary a sight very much affected the enemies

\* This was not done in an instant; the design was first communicated to the consuls, and the consuls summoned the senate to consider if the ladies should be allowed to leave the city. The debate held for many hours, and the votes at first were pretty equal, several of the senators representing how dangerous it would be to trust their wives and children in the camp of the enemy, where probably they might be detained prisoners. At last the majority was for it; it being urged that Coriolanus was incapable of suffering the least outrage to be committed upon the persons of women, who were come to wait on him under the divine protection. The debate held till night, when the decree passed, and the ladies set out the next morning as soon as it was light, having chariots provided for them by the consuls for that purpose.

themselves



themselves, and created in them a respectful silence. Marcius was then seated on a tribunal, with his chief officers about him, and seeing that female party advance toward them, he wondered what should be the matter; but he perceived at length that his own wife was at the head of the company; whereupon he endeavoured to harden himself in his former obstinacy, and would fain have continued inexorable to all entreaties; but overcome by affection, and strangely disordered at such an appearance, he could not endure they should approach him sitting in that stately posture, but came down hastily to meet them, saluting his mother first, and embracing her a long time, and then his wife and children, sparing neither tears nor caresses on this occasion, but suffering himself to be borne away, as it were, by the impetuous torrent of his affection. When he had taken his fill of these endearments, and observed that his mother was desirous to speak to him, the Volscian council being first called in, he heard her discourse before them to this effect: *You may easily conjecture, my son, though we should say nothing ourselves, from our miserable aspect and dress, in how forlorn a condition we have lived at home since your banishment; and now consider with yourself, whether we are not the most unfortunate of women, since that which ought to prove the most delightful spectacle, is, through I know not what fatality, become of all others the most formidable and dreadful to us, when Volunnia sees her son, and Vergilia her husband, encamped as an enemy before the walls of Rome! Yea even prayer to the gods, from which others derive comfort and relief in all manner of misfortunes, adds to our anxiety and distress; for we cannot at the same time petition the gods for Rome's victory, and your preservation. What the worst of our enemies would imprecate on us as a curse, is interwoven and mingled with our prayers; for your wife and children lie under the necessity, either of losing you, or their native country. As for myself, I am resolved not to live till fortune shall put*

an end to the war, and determine between the contending parties. If I cannot prevail with you to prefer peace and friendship to enmity and hostility, and to become a benefactor to both parties, rather than a plague to either, be assured of this, that you shall not advance to assault your country but by trampling on the dead body of her who gave you birth; for I will not live to see the day of triumph either for my son's overthrow, or Rome's destruction. If I desired you to save your country by ruining the Volscians, I confess the case would be hard, and the choice difficult: for as it is unnatural to slaughter our fellow-citizens, it is likewise unjust to betray those who have placed their confidence in us. But now, without doing the least harm to others, we desire only a deliverance from our own evils; and though the thing be equally expedient for them and us, yet will it be more honourable to the Volscians, who having so much the better of us at present, will be thought freely to bestow the greatest of blessings, peace and friendship, even when they receive no less at our hands than is conferred by them. If we obtain these, the merit of such a reconciliation will be chiefly yours; but if they be not granted, you alone must expect to bear the blame from both nations. And though the chance of war is uncertain, this will be the certain event of that which you are engaged in; if you conquer, you will only get the reputation of having undone your country; if you are conquered, the world will say, that, to satisfy your revenge, you have been the author of the greatest misery to your friends and benefactors.

Marcius listened to his mother, while she went on with her discourse, and answered not a word; but Volumnia seeing him stand mute for a long time after she had left speaking, proceeded again in this manner. O my son, why are you silent? Is it laudable to sacrifice so much to passion and resentment? And can it be less so, to grant something to the entreaties of a mother in such a cause as this? Is it the property of a noble mind to retain a sense of injuries? And can you think it unworthy of a great and good man to repay with gratitude and respect

*respect such obligations as children receive from their parents? But it becomes you more than all other men to be grateful, since you punish ingratitude with such severity; and indeed you have been sufficiently avenged of your country, for requiting your services so ill; but the debt of gratitude which you owe to your mother remains yet unpaid. The most sacred ties both of nature and religion, without any other constraint, should methinks oblige you to grant me so just a request; but if words cannot prevail, this only resource is left.* Having said this, she threw herself at his feet, and so did his wife and children; upon which Marcius crying out, *O mother! what is it you have done?* raised her up from the ground, and pressing her hand with more than ordinary vehemence, *You have gained a victory, says he, over me, that is fortunate enough for the Romans, but destructive to myself. I go vanquished by you alone.* Then after a little private conference with his mother and his wife, he sent them back again to Rome, as they desired of him.

The next morning, he decamped, and led the Volscians homeward, who were variously affected with what had passed; for some of them complained of him, and condemned the action; while others, who wished for peace, blamed neither; and though they very much disliked his proceedings, yet they could not look upon Marcius as a treacherous person, but thought it pardonable in him to be subdued by such powerful solicitations. However no one contradicted his orders, but all obediently followed him, moved rather by the admiration of his virtue, than any regard they had now to his authority. As for the Roman people, they did not so effectually discover how much fear and danger they were in while the war lasted, as they did after they were freed from it; for those that guarded the walls had no sooner given notice that the Volscians were retired, but they set open all their temples immediately, and began to crown themselves with flowers, and  
offer



offer sacrifice, as they were wont to do upon tidings brought of any signal victory. But their joy appeared chiefly in the respect and kindness which was shown to the women, both by the senate and people \*; every one declaring it his opinion, that they were evidently the causes and instruments of the public safety; and the senate having passed a decree, that whatever honour or emolument they should desire as a recompense for their service should be granted them by the magistrates, they demanded nothing else but that a temple might be erected *to the fortune of women* †, all the expense of which they offered to defray themselves, if the city would be at the cost of sacrifices, and other religious ceremonies. The senate highly commended their generosity, but caused the temple to be built, and a statue to be set up therein at the public charge; nevertheless they made a contribution among themselves for another image of fortune, which, as the Romans say, at the time of placing it in the temple pronounced these words, *O women, most acceptable to the gods is your piety and devotion in the present you have made of me.* And they fabulously report that the same words were repeated a second time; such absurd and incredible things do they relate. Indeed I think it possible enough that statues may both sweat and run with tears, yea, and discharge certain dewy drops of a sanguine dye; for timber and stones are frequently seen to contract a kind of scurf and mould, that produce moisture; and they do not only exhibit many different colours of themselves, but receive variety of tinctures from the ambient air; by which it is not absurd to imagine that the Deity may advertise and forewarn us of what is to come. It may

\* To perpetuate the memory of that important service, it was decreed that an encomium of those ladies should be engraven on a public monument.

† It was erected on the same place where Coriolanus was prevailed upon and mollified by his mother, in the Latin way, about four miles from Rome.

happen

happen also, that these statues shall sometimes make a noise not unlike that of a sigh or groan, through a rupture, or violent separation of their inward parts; but that an articulate voice, and express words, should be thus formed by inanimate beings, is utterly impossible; for neither the soul of man, nor even God himself, can utter vocal sounds, and pronounce words, without an organized body and parts fitted for utterance. But where history does in a manner force our assent by the concurrence of many credible witnesses, in such a case we are to conclude, that an impression not unlike that which affects the sense, is made upon the imagination, and produces a belief of a real sensation; just as it happens to us when we are fast asleep, our eyes and ears seeming to be entertained with those things which we neither see nor hear. As for those persons, who have such an ardent love for the Deity, that they cannot disbelieve or reject any thing of this kind, their opinion is founded on the admirable efficiency of the divine power, which surpasses our comprehension. For God has no manner of resemblance, either as to his nature, operations, or power, with what is human, and therefore it is no wonder at all if he should devise and perform that which cannot be contrived or accomplished by any mortal. And though he differs from, and does infinitely excel us in all things else, yet the dissimilitude and distance betwixt him and men, appears no where so much, as in the prodigious effects of his omnipotence. *However most of the divine operations, as Heraclitus affirms, escape our knowledge, because we have not faith enough to believe them.*

Upon the return of Marcius with the army to Antium, Tullus, (who perfectly hated him, and could no longer endure a man of whose authority he was so much afraid) resolved to dispatch him, well knowing that if he omitted the present opportunity, he never should have such another advantage

tage

tage over him for that purpose. Having therefore suborned several to appear against him, he required Marcius to resign his charge, and give the Volscians an account of his administration. Marcius, apprehending the danger of a private condition, if Tullus should be made commander in chief, and thereby obtain the greatest power and interest with the people of Antium, made answer, *That he was ready to lay down his commission, whenever the Volscian states, from whose common authority he had received it, should think fit to command him; and that in the mean time he did not refuse to give the Antiates satisfaction, as to all the particulars of his conduct, if they were desirous of it.* An assembly then being called, some appointed for that design, by their harangues exasperated and incensed the multitude: but when Marcius stood up to answer their objections, the more unruly and tumultuous part of the assembly grew calm and quiet on the sudden, and, out of reverence to his person, gave him liberty to speak without the least disturbance: besides that all the better sort of the people, and such as were most delighted with the peace, made it evident by their behaviour, that they would give him a favourable hearing, and then judge and pronounce according to equity. Tullus therefore began to dread his apology, for Marcius was an excellent orator; and the gratitude of the Volscians for his former services outweighed their displeasure, on account of his late conduct: nay the very accusation itself, was a proof of the greatness of his merits; for they could have had no ground of complaint that Rome was not then brought into their power, but because by his means only they had been so near taking it. For these reasons the conspirators judged it prudent not to make any further delays, or attempt to gain the suffrages of the people; but the boldest of their faction crying out, that they ought not to listen to a traitor, nor allow him still to bear rule among them,



them, fell upon Marcius in a body, and slew him there, none of those that were present so much as offering to defend him. But it quickly appeared, that this base and unworthy action was by no means approved by the majority of the Volscians; for they came running out of their several cities, to show respect to his corpse, which they did by an honourable interment of it \*, adorning his sepulchre with arms and trophies, as the monument of a noble hero and a famous general. When the Romans heard of his death †, they gave no other signification either of honour or of anger towards him, but only granted this request of the women, that they might put themselves into mourning, and bewail him for ten months, as their custom was upon the loss of a father, son, or brother; that being the period set for the longest mourning by the laws of Numa Pompilius, as I have more amply related in his life. Marcius was no sooner dead, but

\* They dressed him in his general's robes, laid his corpse on a magnificent bier, which was borne on the shoulders of such young officers as were particularly distinguished for their martial exploits. Before him were borne the spoils he had obtained from the enemy, the crowns he had won, and plans of the cities he had taken. In this order was he laid on the pile, while several victims were slain in honour to his memory. When the pile was consumed, they gathered up his ashes, which they interred on the spot, and erected a magnificent monument there. Coriolanus was slain in the second year of the seventy-third Olympiad, in the two hundred and sixty-sixth year of Rome, and eight years after his first campaign. He fell therefore in the flower of his age, if it be true what Plutarch says, that he made his first campaign when he was very young. But this is liable to a great many strong objections. And I cannot but think that neither Dionysius of Halicarnassus, nor Livy, had any exact accounts of the time when Coriolanus was born, and at what age he performed his first exploits. Livy informs us that there were different accounts given of the cause and manner of his death; that, according to Fabius a very ancient author, he lived till he was very old; and that in the decline of life he was wont to say, that *a state of exile was always uncomfortable, but more so to an old man than to another.*

† Dionysius of Halicarnassus says, that they considered his death as a public calamity, and had a public as well as private mourning for him. But perhaps Plutarch means that they did not honour his memory with any public monument.

the

the Volscians found their need of his assistance, and wished for him again; for they quarrelled first with the Æqui (their confederates and their friends) about the nomination of a general, who should be commander in chief of their joint forces; which dispute was carried on with so much fierceness, that it came at length to bloodshed and slaughter on both sides. After this, they were defeated by the Romans in a pitched battle, where not only Tullus lost his life, but the flower of their whole army was cut in pieces; so that they were forced to submit, and accept of peace upon very dishonourable terms, promising to obey the Romans in whatever they should impose.

---

### The Comparison of ALCIBIADES with CORIOLANUS.

**H**AVING thus given an account of as many of the actions of these two great men, as we thought worthy to be remembered, it is easy to be seen that they are much upon a level with respect to their exploits in war; for both the one and the other gave clear instances of their courage and fortitude; and when they had the command in chief, they showed equal proofs of their military conduct and capacity; unless some may think Alcibiades the greater general of the two, from the many victories he obtained during the whole course of his life, by sea as well as land. But this is common to them both, that whilst they had the chief command in the army, and fought in person, the affairs of their country were in a prosperous condition, but changed for the worse the moment they went over to the enemy.

As to their behaviour in point of government, it is most certain that all wise men have abhorred that of Alcibiades as too licentious, too servile and flattering

flattering to the people, and that the Romans hated that of Coriolanus as too haughty and austere, and favouring too much of aristocracy. So that neither of them is to be commended, if considered in that capacity; though the mild and popular governor is much less to be condemned, than he that chuses rather to oppress and tyrannize over the people than to be thought fawning and obsequious. For if it be mean to seek for power by courting the favour of the populace; to pursue it by insolence and oppression, is not only mean, but unjust.

It cannot be denied, that Coriolanus was full of candour and simplicity, whereas Alcibiades was made up of cheat and imposture. He is particularly reproached for the trick he put upon the Lacedæmonian ambassadors, when he imposed upon them on purpose to renew the war, as we are told by Thucydides. However, though this artifice necessarily engaged the Athenians in a destructive war, yet it served more firmly to establish the alliance with the Mantinæans, and Grecians, and to render it still more formidable, which was purely owing to his skill and address. But was not Coriolanus guilty of an imposture too, when he stirred up the Romans against the Volscians, by loading the latter with an infamous piece of calumny during the exhibition of the public games, of which some of them were gone to be spectators, as is related by Dionysius of Halicarnassus? And there is something in this action which renders it more odious than that of Alcibiades; for he was not prompted to it by the instigations of ambition, and the heats arising from disputes about government and politics, as Alcibiades was, but purely did it to gratify his anger; which, as Dion says, *never pays for the services it receives*. By this means he laid waste many large tracts in Italy, and sacrificed to the resentment he had conceived against his country.



try a great number of cities, from which he never had received any injury.

It must be allowed, that Alcibiades also in his passion was the cause of many grievous calamities to the Athenians : but he grew cool as soon as they repented ; and being a second time driven into exile, he could not bear with patience the blunders committed by the generals who had been appointed to succeed him, nor could he see with indifference the dangers to which they were exposed, but (as Aristides had done before to Themistocles, and which of all the actions of his life is the most extolled) he went in person to wait on those generals, whom he knew to be not his friends, showed them wherein they had erred, and taught them what remained to be done for their safety. Whereas Coriolanus punished the whole body of the people, though he had been injured only by a part of them, and though the best and most considerable of the citizens were fellow-sufferers with him, and compassionated his misfortunes. Besides, by being inflexible to the many messages and embassies sent to him on purpose to repair one single injury, he showed that he had the ruin of his country more in view than his own re-establishment, when he raised that cruel war against them, without so much as giving ear to any terms of accommodation.

It may be said, that there is this difference between them ; that Alcibiades returned not to Athens till he found himself in imminent danger from the ill-will and distrust of the Lacedæmonians ; and that, on the other hand, Coriolanus had no justifiable pretence to forsake the Volscians, who had always used him well, having declared him their general with full authority, and reposed the highest confidence in him ; herein very different from Alcibiades, who was rather abused than employed or trusted by the Spartans ; and who, after having been driven to and fro in the city and the camp,

camp, found himself at last obliged to resort to Tiffaphernes; unless it may be supposed, that, in hopes of being recalled, he made his court to that officer on purpose to prevent the utter ruin of his country \*.

As to the love of money, Alcibiades received presents and bribes without any scruple. And what he thus shamefully got, was as shamefully spent in debauch and luxury. Whereas Coriolanus could not be prevailed upon by his generals to accept even of the presents that had been offered him with all the tokens of honour and distinction. Therefore, when the disputes arose about the cancelling of the debts, he became still more insupportable to the people, who conceived, that, in the part which he acted in that affair, he had no view to his own interest, but only meant to insult and trample upon them.

Antipater, in a letter which he wrote concerning Aristotle's death, said, *That besides his other talents, he had that of acquiring the good-will of every one.* For want of this talent all Coriolanus's great actions and virtues were odious even to those who received the most benefit by them, who could not endure that pride, obstinacy, and moroseness of temper, which Plato calls the *companion of solitude*. Whereas Alcibiades so well knew how to win upon those with whom he conversed, that it is not to be wondered at if he was beloved and honoured for his good actions, when even his faults and extravagancies often appeared graceful and pleasing. For this reason, though the one had been the cause of many heavy calamities to his country, yet was he several times chosen general with absolute authority; whereas the other when he put up for the consulship, which he had a right to expect after so many exploits and victories, was repulsed with dishonour.

\* For he prevented Tiffaphernes from assisting the Spartans with all his forces.

Thus the Athenians could not hate Alcibiades, though he had brought innumerable calamities upon them; nor could the Romans love Coriolanus, notwithstanding the eminent services he had done his country, and the high esteem he was in for his virtue.

To this we may add; that Coriolanus did nothing considerable for Rome, whilst he had the command of her armies, but did a great deal against her when at the head of that of her enemies; and that Alcibiades, whether in the quality of a private soldier, or a commander, was signally serviceable to the Athenians; that when present he was always too strong for his enemies, and they never could get the better of him but in his absence: whereas the Romans condemned Coriolanus to his face; and he was at length slain by the Volscians, though indeed treacherously and unjustly, but not without a colour of justice, for having in public refused peace to the ambassadors, which yet in private he granted to the women; by which means, without healing the breach, but leaving the grounds of the war still to subsist, he lost a very favourable opportunity; nor would he have withdrawn the forces without the consent of those who had committed them to his conduct, if he had paid a due regard to the obligations which he was under to the Volscians.

If, without any consideration of the Volscians, he raised the flame purely to gratify his own spleen and resentment, and having satisfied that, he thought fit to put an end to the war; he ought not to have spared his country for the sake of his mother, but to have spared it with her, since his mother and his wife were only part of his country, and of the city he was besieging: but to remain inflexible, and inhumanly to reject the public supplications, the submissions and petitions of the priests and augurs, and afterwards to relent at his mother's entreaty, and withdraw the forces; this was not to honour his mother,



mother, but dishonour his country, which he saved only from complaisance to a woman; as if he did not think it worthy to be preserved for its own sake. So that this favour was odious and unacceptable, and claimed the thanks of neither party. He neither retreated at the instance of those against whom he had been engaged in war, nor with the consent of those in whose behalf he had undertaken it. The cause of all which was that austerity of manners, that arrogance and inflexibility of mind, which is always detested by the people, but when united with ambition becomes savage and ungovernable; for they who are possessed with these vices, disdain to ingratiate themselves with the populace, as if they were above the thoughts of honours and dignities; and yet when these are denied to them, they become inconsolable, and are fired with an implacable resentment. There have been some who could not stoop to court the favour of the people by servile flattery; such were Metellus, Aristides, Epaminondas; but at the same time, they had a thorough contempt for every thing the people could give, or take from them; and whenever they were banished, had received a repulse, or been deeply fined, they never appeared enraged at the ingratitude of their fellow-citizens, but knew how to pardon the moment the others confessed they had offended. That man who will not condescend to flatter the people, ought never to entertain a spirit of revenge against them; for that furious transport can proceed from nothing but an excessive ambition. As for Alcibiades, he ingenuously confessed that he loved honours, and was sensibly touched when they were refused to him; for which reason, he studied to get the good-will of every one by his complaisance and affability. Coriolanus was the reverse of this: his pride would not suffer him to ingratiate himself with the people, who alone were able to confer honours upon him, and yet when he

was refused those honours, his ambition filled him with rage and indignation. This is the only blot to be found in his character; in every thing else he was without a blemish. For temperance and a contempt of riches, he may stand a comparison with the most illustrious examples of Greece; surely then he is much to be preferred to Alcibiades, who in that respect was the most profligate of men, and broke through all the obligations of honour and decency.

THE

# T H E L I F E O F T I M O L E O N.

**T**HE affairs of the Syracusans, before Timoleon was sent into Sicily, were in this posture. Soon after Dion had driven out Dionysius the tyrant \*, he was slain by treachery †; those who had assisted him in delivering Syracuse were divided among themselves; and the city, by a continual change of governors, and a train of mischiefs that succeeded each other, became almost desolate. As for the rest of Sicily, part thereof was now utterly ruined through a long continuance of the wars, and most of the cities that had been left standing, were seized upon by a mixed company of Barbarians and mercenary troops, who were fond of every change of government. Such being the state of things, Dionysius in the tenth year of his banishment, by the help of some foreign troops he had got together, forced out Nysseus ‡, then master of Syracuse, recovered all afresh, and again settled himself in his dominion. And as he had been at first strangely deprived of the greatest and most ab-

\* This was Dionysius the younger. The history of this whole affair is very well written in the life of Dion.

† He was murdered by the Athenian Calippus.

‡ He was a man of great prudence and valour. Dionysius the younger had made him general of his forces; with which he made himself master of Syracuse, but kept it for himself.



solute power that ever was, by a very small party; so now, after a more wonderful manner, from a poor exile, he became the sovereign of those who had ejected him. All therefore who remained in Syracuse, were reduced into servitude to a tyrant, who at the best was of an ungentle nature, and was then exasperated to a greater degree of savageness, by the late misfortunes he had suffered. But those of the better sort, having timely retired to Icetes, prince of the Leontines, put themselves under his protection, and chose him for their general in the war; not because they esteemed him preferable to any of those who were open and avowed tyrants; but because they had no other refuge at present; and it gave them some ground of confidence, that he was of a Syracusan family, and had an army able to encounter that of Dionysius.

In the mean time, the Carthaginians appeared before Sicily with a great navy, watching how they might make the most advantage of the present calamitous and disordered state of the island. The terror of this fleet made the Sicilians send an embassy into Greece, to demand succours from the Corinthians, whom they confided in rather than any others\*, not only upon account of their near kindred, and the services they had often received from them before, but because Corinth had ever shown herself a friend to liberty and a foe to tyranny, by the many expensive wars she had engaged in, not from ambition or avarice, but to maintain the liberty of Greece. But Icetes, whose intention in accepting the command, was not so much to deliver the Syracusans from other tyrants, as to enslave them himself, carried on

\* All the Sicilians were not a colony from Corinth, but only the Syracusans, who were founded by Archias the Corinthian, in the second year of the eleventh Olympiad, 733 years before the birth of our Saviour. This island had been inhabited by the Phœnicians and other barbarous people above 300 years before the Greeks arrived there.

a correspondence with the Carthaginians in secret, while in public he commended the design of the Syracusans, and dispatched ambassadors from himself, together with those whom they sent into Peloponnesus; not that he really desired there should come any relief from thence, but, in case the Corinthians (as it was likely enough) should, by reason of the troubles of Greece, and by having sufficient employment at home, refuse their assistance, he hoped then he should be able with less difficulty to dispose things in favour of the Carthaginians, and make use of them as instruments and auxiliaries for himself, either against the Syracusans, or Dionysius, as occasion served; and that this was what he had in view, came to be known soon after.

When the ambassadors arrived, and their request was known, the Corinthians, who were wont to have a particular concern for all their colonies, but especially for that of Syracuse, since by good fortune there was nothing to molest them in their own country, but they enjoyed peace and leisure at that time, readily passed a vote for their assistance. The next thing to be considered, was the choice of a general for that expedition; and whilst the magistrates were nominating several persons who had made it their care and study to distinguish themselves in the city, one of the plebeians standing up, happened to name Timoleon the son of Timodemus\*, who had not till then concerned himself in public business, and had neither any hopes of, nor inclination to an employment of that nature; so that the thing appeared to be the effect of a divine inspiration; and such indulgence of fortune did then immediately appear at his election, and so much of her favour accompanied his following

\* Diodorus Siculus calls his father *Timænetus*, which I think ought to be corrected by this place of Plutarch.

actions,

actions, as if every thing had conspired to illustrate and signalize his virtue. As to his parentage, both Timodemus his father, and his mother Demariste, were of a noble rank in that city. He had a great love for his country, and was of a remarkably mild disposition, excepting that he bore an extreme hatred to tyrants and wicked men. His natural abilities for war were so happily tempered, that, as an extraordinary prudence might be seen in all the enterprises of his younger years, so an undaunted courage attended him even in his declining age. He had an elder brother, whose name was *Timophanes*, one of a different character from him, being indiscreet and rash, and corrupted with a love of monarchy, by the suggestion of some profligate friends, and foreign soldiers, whom he kept always about him. In war he seemed impetuous and daring; by which he gained the favour of the people, who so highly esteemed his courage and activity, that they frequently intrusted him with the command of the army; and in obtaining these honours Timoleon very much assisted him, by wholly concealing, or at least extenuating his faults, and by magnifying and extolling his good qualities. It happened once in a battle between the Corinthians and the people of Argos and Cleone, that Timoleon served among the infantry, when Timophanes, commanding their cavalry, was brought into extraordinary danger: for his horse being wounded fell forward, and threw him headlong amidst the enemies; whereupon part of his companions were presently dispersed through fear, and the small number that remained, bearing up against a great multitude, were hardly able to maintain the fight. As soon as Timoleon saw his brother's danger, he ran hastily in to his rescue, and covering the fallen Timophanes with his buckler, after having received a bundance of darts, and several strokes by the swords.



fwords into his body and his armour, he at length with much difficulty obliged the enemies to retire, and brought off his brother safe. Not long after this the Corinthians, for fear of losing their city a second time, as they had done once before by means of their allies, made a decree to entertain 400 strangers for the security of it, and gave Timophanes the command over them. He, without any regard to honour and equity, made use of this power so as to render himself absolute, and bring the place under subjection; and having for that purpose cut off many principal citizens, uncondemned, and without trial, he declared himself king of Corinth. This procedure extremely afflicted Timoleon, who reckoned the wickedness of his brother to be his own reproach and calamity. He therefore at first endeavoured to persuade him by his discourse to renounce those mad and desperate designs, and bethink himself how to make the Corinthians some amends for the injury he had done them. But when his single admonition was rejected with contempt, after waiting a few days he returned, taking with him one Æschylus his kinsman, brother to the wife of Timophanes, and a certain soothsayer that was his friend, whom Theopompus in his history calls *Satyrus*, but Ephorus and Timæus mention by the name of *Orthagoras*. They all surrounded him, and earnestly entreated him to listen to reason, and change his purpose. Timophanes at first laughed at them, and afterwards burst into a violent rage. \* Then Timoleon stepped aside from him, and stood weep-

\* The authors Plutarch follows here, differ from Diodorus Siculus, who writes that Timoleon slew his brother with his own hands in the open street. The account which Plutarch gives, and which I suppose is the same with that of Theopompus and Ephorus, appears more probable, and takes off somewhat from the barbarity of the action. This happened twenty years before Timoleon was appointed general of the forces which the Corinthians sent to Syracuse.

ing with his face covered, while the other two, drawing their swords, dispatched him in a moment. The rumour of this fact being soon spread abroad, the principal men among the Corinthians highly applauded Timoleon for his detestation of wickedness, and extolled the greatness of his soul, that notwithstanding the natural gentleness of his disposition, and his affection to his family, he should however think the obligations to his country much stronger than the ties of consanguinity, and prefer that which is honourable and just, before his own pleasure and advantage: for the same brother, who with so much bravery had been saved by him, when he fought in defence of his country, he had now as nobly sacrificed, for enslaving her afterwards by his base and treacherous usurpation. But those who knew not how to live in a democracy, and had been used to make their court to men in power, though they openly pretended to rejoice at the death of the tyrant, yet secretly reviling Timoleon, as one that had committed the most impious and abominable act, they cast him into a strange melancholy and dejection. And when he came to understand how heavily his mother took it, and that she likewise uttered the bitterest complaints and most terrible imprecations against him, he went to satisfy and comfort her for what had been done; but she refused to see him, and shut her doors against him. This so deeply affected him, that it disordered his mind, and made him determine to put an end to his life, by abstaining from all manner of sustenance; till through the care and diligence of his friends, who were every instant with him, and added force to their entreaties, he came to resolve and promise at last, that he would endure life, provided it might be in solitude. So that, quitting all civil transactions, and his former commerce with the world, for a long time he never came into Corinth, but wandered up and down

down the fields, full of anxious and tormenting thoughts, and spent his time in the most desert and solitary places. So easily are our judgments and resolutions changed and unsettled through the casual commendation or reproof of others, unless they are confirmed by reason and philosophy, which give strength and steadiness to our undertakings; for an action must not only be just and laudable in its own nature, but it must proceed likewise from solid motives, and a lasting principle, that so we may fully and constantly approve it. For otherwise, when we have executed any design, we shall, through our own weakness, be filled with sorrow and remorse, and the splendid ideas of honour and virtue, which at first accompanied the action, will totally vanish; as it happens to those greedy persons who seizing on the more delicious morsels of any dish with a keen appetite, are presently cloyed and disgusted; for repentance makes even the best actions appear base and faulty; whereas those purposes which are founded upon knowledge and reason, never change by disappointment. And therefore Phocion of Athens, having vigorously opposed the enterprize of Leosthenes \*, which however succeeded contrary to his opinion; when he saw the Athenians sacrificing, and exulting upon a victory that was gotten by him, said, *I am glad of this success, but I must still approve of my own advice.* Aristides the Locrian, one of Plato's companions, made a more sharp and severe reply to Dionysius the elder, who demanded one of his daughters in marriage: *I had rather, says he to him, see the virgin in her grave, than in the palace of a tyrant.* And when Dionysius, enraged at the affront, put his sons to death a while after, and then again insultingly asked, *Whether he were still in the same mind as to the disposal of his daughter?* his answer was, *I am sorry for what*

\* See the life of Phocion.



*you have done, but I am not sorry for what I said. But* such expressions as these are perhaps the effects of a more sublime and accomplished virtue, which every man cannot attain to.

As for the dejection of Timoleon upon the late fact, whether it arose from a deep commiseration of his brother's fate, or the reverence he bore his mother, it so shattered and impaired his spirits, that, for the space of almost twenty years, he did not concern himself in any considerable or public action. When therefore he was pitched upon for general, and joyfully accepted as such by the suffrages of the people, Teleclides, a man of the greatest power and reputation in Corinth, rose up and exhorted him to act on this occasion with resolution and integrity: *If,* said he, *you now behave well, we shall look upon you as the destroyer of a tyrant; if not, you will be considered as the murderer of your brother.* While he was preparing to set sail, and lifting soldiers to embark with him, there came letters to the Corinthians from Ictes, that plainly discovered his revolt and treachery; for his ambassadors were no sooner set out for Corinth, but he openly joined the Carthaginians, and furthered them in their designs, that they likewise might assist him to throw out Dionysius, and to become master of Syracuse in his room. And fearing he might be disappointed of his aim, if the Corinthian forces should arrive with a general of their own before this was effected, he sent a letter to the people of Corinth, telling them, *they need not be at any cost and trouble upon his account, or run the hazard of a Sicilian expedition, especially since the Carthaginians would dispute their passage, and lay in wait to attack them with a numerous fleet, which he had himself now engaged (being forced thereto by the slowness of their motions) to lend him all necessary assistance against Dionysius.* This letter being publicly read, if any had been cold and indifferent before, as to the expedition in hand, yet the

the indignation they conceived against Icetes, now exasperated and inflamed them all, insomuch that they willingly contributed to supply Timoleon, and jointly endeavoured to hasten his departure.

When the vessels were equipped, and his soldiers every way provided for, the priestesses of Proserpine had a dream, wherein she and her mother Ceres appeared to them in a travelling garb, and said, that they would sail with Timoleon into Sicily; whereupon the Corinthians built a sacred galley, which they called the *galley of the goddesses* \*. Timoleon went in person to Delphi, where he sacrificed to Apollo, and descending into the place of prophecy, he was surprised with this marvellous occurrence: A wreath, or garland embroidered with crowns and images of victory, slipped off from among the gifts that were there hung up, and fell directly upon his head; so that Apollo seemed already to crown him, and send him thence to conquer and triumph in that enterprize. He put to sea with only seven ships of Corinth, two of Corcyra, and a tenth which was furnished by the Leucadians. Having set sail by night, with a prosperous gale, the heavens seemed all on a sudden to be rent in sunder, and a bright spreading flame issued from the division, and hovered over the ship wherein he was; then forming itself into a torch, not unlike those which are used in the religious mysteries, it kept the same course with them, guiding them by its light to that quarter of Italy to which they designed to steer. The soothsayers affirmed, that this apparition agreed with the dream of the priestesses, since the goddesses did now visibly join in the expedition, and set up that heavenly lamp to conduct them in their voyage; for Sicily was thought sacred to Proserpine, because the poets

\* Diodorus Siculus says, (which is more probable), that they gave the name above mentioned to one of the finest and best of those vessels which they had equipped before.

feign, that the rape was committed there, and that the island was given her as a present when she was married to Pluto \*. These early demonstrations of divine favour much encouraged his whole army; so that making all the sail they were able, and crossing the sea with great expedition, they were soon brought upon the coast of Italy. But the tidings that came from Sicily very much perplexed Timoleon, and disheartened his soldiers: for Icetes having already beaten Dionysius out of the field, and reduced the greater part of Syracuse itself, was besieging him in the citadel, and that remnant which is called *the isle* †; while the Carthaginians, by agreement, were to make it their business to hinder Timoleon from landing in Sicily; so that he being driven back, they might, at their own leisure, divide the island among themselves. In pursuance of which design, the Carthaginians sent away twenty of their galleys to Rhegium, having on board certain ambassadors from Icetes to Timoleon, who carried instructions suitable to these proceedings, being nothing else but artful specious propositions to colour and conceal his treacherous designs: for they were ordered to propose, *That Timoleon himself (if he liked the offer) should come to advise with Icetes, and partake of all his conquests, but that he might send back his ships and forces to Corinth, since the war was in a manner finished, and the Carthaginians had resolved to repel force with force, and oppose them if they should press*

\* According to the custom of those ancient times, the bridegroom made a present to the bride; which custom is particularly taken notice of in Homer. This present was made the third day after the wedding, when the bride appeared without her veil; for which reason Plutarch calls it ἀνακαλυπτήριον.

† Icetes having lain some time before Syracuse, began to want provisions, which obliged him to retire with his army towards his own country; whereupon Dionysius marched out, pursued him, and attacked his rear; but Icetes facing about to make good his retreat, defeated him, killed 3000 of his men, and pursuing him into the city, kept possession of it; while Dionysius was forced to content himself with that part of it called *the isle*.

toward



*toward the shore.* When therefore the Corinthians met with these envoys at Rhegium, and received their message, and saw the Punic vessels riding at anchor near them, they became deeply sensible of the abuse that was put upon them, and had a general indignation against Icetes, and great apprehensions for the Sicilians, whom they now plainly perceived to be as it were a prize and recompense of the falsehood of Icetes on one side, and the ambition of Carthage on the other; for it seemed utterly impossible to overpower the Carthaginian ships that lay before them, and were double their number, as also to vanquish the troops of Icetes, which they had expected would join with them, and put themselves under their command. The case being thus, Timoleon after some conference with the legates of Icetes, and the Carthaginian captains, told them, *he should readily submit to their proposals, (for it would be to no purpose to refuse compliance); he was desirous only before his return to Corinth, that what passed between them in private, might be solemnly declared before the people of Rhegium, which was a Grecian city, and a common friend to both parties; for this was necessary in order to secure him from any reproach; and they likewise would more strictly observe such articles of agreement, on behalf of the Syracusans, which they had obliged themselves to in the presence of so many witnesses.* The design of all this was, only to amuse them, while he got an opportunity of slipping through their fleet: a contrivance that all the principal Rhegians were privy and assisting to, who had a great desire that the affairs of Sicily should fall into Corinthian hands, but dreaded the consequence of a Punic neighbourhood. An assembly was therefore called, and the gates shut, that the citizens might be prevented from going out and applying themselves to other business. Being met together, they made tedious harangues, and spoke one by one upon the same argument, purposely prolonging the time, till the Corinthian

galleys should get clear of the haven, the Carthaginian commanders being detained there without any suspicion, because Timoleon was still present, and gave signs as if he were just preparing to make an oration. But upon secret notice that the rest of the galleys were already gone off, and that his only remained waiting for him \*, by the help of those Rhegians who surrounded the rostrum, and concealed him among them, he slipped unobserved through the croud, and running down to the port, hoisted sail with all speed; and having reached his other vessels, they came all safe to Tauromenium in Sicily, whither they had been formerly invited, and where they were now kindly received by Andromachus the governor of that city. This man was father of Timæus the historian, and incomparably the best of all those who bore sway in Sicily at that time; for he governed his citizens according to law and justice, and had ever openly professed an aversion and enmity to all tyrants; upon which account he gave Timoleon leave to muster his troops there, and to make that city a place of arms, persuading the inhabitants to join with the Corinthian forces, and assist them in the design of delivering Sicily.

The Carthaginians who were left in Rhegium perceiving, upon the breaking up of the assembly, that Timoleon had escaped, were not a little vexed to see themselves outwitted; and it occasioned no small diversion to the Rhegians, to hear Phœnicians complain of fraud and treachery †. However, they dispatched a messenger aboard one of their galleys to Tauromenium; who after a long discourse full

\* The Carthaginian ships suffered them to pass by, believing this to be done by agreement with their officers who were in the city, and that those nine galleys were going back to Corinth, and that the tenth was left behind, to carry Timoleon to Icetes's army at Syracuse.

† For the Phœnicians were reckoned the greatest cheats in the world, so much that their treachery became proverbial,

of barbaric pride and insolence, stretching out his hand with the palm upward, and then turning it down again, said to Andromachus, *Thus shall your city be turned upside down, unless you instantly dismiss the Corinthians.* Andromachus laughing, made no other reply, only stretching out his hand, and turning it as the other had done, advised him instantly to depart, unless he had a mind to see his ship turned upside down in the same manner. Icetes being certified that Timoleon had made good his passage, was in great fear of the consequence, and sent for a considerable number of the Carthaginian galleys. And now it was that the Syracusans began wholly to despair of safety, seeing the Carthaginians possessed of their haven, Icetes master of the city, and Dionysius commanding in the fortress; whereas Timoleon had as yet but a very slender footing in Sicily, which he only held as it were by the border in that small city of the Tauromenians, with a feeble hope, and inconsiderable force; for he had but 1000 soldiers at the most, and no more supplies than were just necessary for the maintenance of that number. Nor did the other towns of Sicily confide in him, having been lately over-run with violence and outrage, and being exasperated against all commanders in general, chiefly on account of the perfidy of Calippus an Athenian, and Pharax a Lacedæmonian captain; for both of them having given out, that the design of their coming was to introduce liberty, and depose tyrants, they so tyrannised themselves, that the reign of former oppressors seemed to be a golden age; and the Sicilians reckoned them to be far more happy who expired in servitude, than any that had lived to see such a dismal freedom; so that looking for no better usage from this Corinthian general, but imagining that the same artifices were now again employed to allure them by fair hopes and kind promises into the obedience of a new master, they all  
in



in general (except the people of Adranum) suspected his designs, and refused to comply with the proposals that were made them in his name. Adranum was a small city consecrated to Adranus, a certain god that was in high veneration throughout Sicily; the inhabitants were then at variance among themselves, insomuch that one party called in Ictes and the Carthaginians to assist them, while the other sent addresses to Timoleon, that he would come and espouse their quarrel. It happened that these auxiliaries, striving who should be there soonest, both arrived at Adranum about the same time; Ictes brought with him 5000 fighting men; Timoleon had no more than 1200: with these he marched out of Tauromenium, which was above forty-two miles distant from that city. The first day he moved but slowly, and took up his quarters betimes after a short march; but the day following he quickened his pace; and having passed through many difficult places, towards evening he received advice that Ictes was newly come to Adranum, and lay encamped before it. Upon which intelligence, his officers caused the vanguard to make a halt, that the army after being refreshed, and having reposed a while, might engage the enemy with greater alacrity. But Timoleon coming up in haste, desired them not to stop for that reason, but rather use all possible diligence to surprize the enemy, whom probably they would now find in disorder, as being just come off their march, and taken up at present in erecting tents, and preparing supper; which he had no sooner said, but laying hold on his buckler, and putting himself in the front, he led them on as it were to a certain victory, they all resolutely following him. They were now within less than thirty furlongs of Adranum; as soon as they arrived, they immediately fell upon the enemy, who were seized with confusion, and began to retire at their first approach,

approach, so that there were not many more than 300 slain, and about twice the number made prisoners, but their camp and baggage was all taken. The Adranites upon this opened their gates, and embraced the interest of Timoleon. They recounted to him with great terror and astonishment, that, at the very instant of his beginning the engagement, the doors of their temple flew open of their own accord, that the javelin which their god held in his hand was observed to shake all over, and that drops of sweat had been seen running down his face. These omens were not only a presage of the victory that was then obtained, but also of Timoleon's future exploits and successes, to which the felicity of this action gave him so fair an entrance. For now all the neighbouring cities sent deputies immediately to seek his friendship, and tender him their service. Among the rest, Mamercus\*, the tyrant of Catana, a very wealthy prince, and eminent for his military talents, made an alliance with him; and, what was of greater importance still, Dionysius himself being now grown desperate, and well nigh forced to surrender, began to despise Iccetes, as one shamefully baffled; but much admiring the valour of Timoleon, sent to him, offering to deliver up himself and the citadel into the hands of the Corinthians. Timoleon, gladly embracing this unlooked-for advantage, sent away Euclides and Telemachus, two Corinthian captains, with 400 men, to seize the castle. They had directions to enter not all at once, or in open view, (for that was not to be done while the enemy kept a guard upon the haven), but only by stealth, and in small companies. Thus they took possession of the fortress, and the palace of Dionysius, with all the stores and ammunition he had laid up for the war; they

\* By this place of Plutarch we ought to correct that of Diodorus Siculus where he calls this tyrant of Catana, *Marcus* instead of *Mamercus*.

found in it a good number of horses and all manner of engines, and a vast quantity of darts, with arms sufficient for 70,000 men; which had been the magazine of old; beside 2000 soldiers who were then with him, and whom he surrendered with every thing else to Timoleon. But Dionysius himself taking with him some treasure and a few friends, sailed away without the knowledge of Ictetes; and arriving at the camp of Timoleon, he there appeared for the first time in the lowly garb and equipage of a private person\*, and was shortly after sent to Corinth with a single ship, and a small sum of money; he who had been born and educated in a most splendid court, and the most absolute monarchy that ever was. He held it for the space of ten years before Dion took arms against him†; he spent twelve years more in a perpetual state of war, and great vicissitudes of fortune. The mischiefs which he caused during his reign were abundantly recompensed upon him, by the calamities which he then suffered; for he lived to see the funeral of his sons, who died in the prime and vigour of their age; he saw his daughters deflowered, and his own sister (who was also his wife) exposed to all the lust of his enemies, and then murdered with her children, and cast into the sea; the particulars whereof I have more exactly related in the life of Dion.

Upon the fame of his landing at Corinth, there was hardly a man in Greece who had not the curiosity to come and view the late formidable tyrant, and discourse with him. Some rejoicing at his disasters, were led thither out of mere malignity and

\* Plutarch says this, because Dionysius was born and bred to absolute power, whereas most tyrants were once private mean persons, who from a low and abject condition rose to that height of power.

† For he began his reign in the first year of the hundred and third Olympiad. And Dion took arms against him in the fourth year of the hundred and fifth, and he delivered up the citadel, and was sent to Corinth, in the first year of the hundred and ninth.

hatred;



hatred, that they might have the pleasure of seeing him in such a despicable state, and of trampling on the ruins of his broken fortune; but others were touched with compassion at the sight of so affecting a change, and looked upon it as a manifest proof of that influence which a divine and invisible power has on the fluctuating affairs of men. For neither nature nor art \* did in that age produce any thing comparable to this wonderful turn of fortune, which showed the very same man, who was not long before supreme monarch of Sicily, holding conversation now in the market, or sitting whole days in a perfumer's shop, or drinking the diluted wine of taverns, or squabbling in the street with lewd women, or instructing the fingers in their art, and seriously disputing with them about the measure and harmony of certain airs that were sung in the theatre. This behaviour of his met with different censures: for being lewd and vicious in himself, and of a licentious disposition, he was thought by many to do this out of pure compliance with his own natural inclinations: but others were of opinion, that his design was to render himself despicable, that the Corinthians might not suspect or dread him, as if he could ill brook such a vicissitude of fortune, and were secretly contriving ways to undermine the state, or advance himself to his former dignity; for prevention of which surmises, he acted a part contrary to his nature, in seeming to be delighted with low and vulgar amusements. However it be, there are certain sayings of his left still upon record, which sufficiently declare, that he did not want fortitude to accommodate himself to his present circumstances. When he arrived at Leucas, which was a Corinthian colony as well as Syracuse, he told the inhabitants, *That he was in a*

\* He adds, *nor art*, to let us understand that none of the tragic writers had represented so signal and terrible a catastrophe, as fortune had shown in the life of Dionysius.

situation like that of young men who had been guilty of some misdemeanour; for as they cheerfully conversed among their brethren, but were ashamed to come into their father's presence; so likewise should he gladly reside with them, but that he had a certain awe upon his mind, which made him fearfully decline the sight of Corinth, which was a common mother to them both. Another time when a certain stranger at Corinth derided him in a very rude and scornful manner, about the conferences he used to have with philosophers, whose company had been so delightful to him while yet a monarch, and at last demanded what he was the better now for all those wise and learned discourses of Plato? *Do you think, says he, I have made no advantage of his philosophy, when you see me bear the late alteration in my fortune, with such an even temper?* And when Aristoxenus the musician, and several several others, desired to know what was the ground of his displeasure against Plato, he made answer, *That the condition of sovereign princes, being attended with many other misfortunes, had this great infelicity above all the rest, that none of those who were accounted their friends, would venture to speak freely, or tell them the truth, and that it was owing to them that he had been deprived of Plato's friendship.* At another time, one of those who affect to be thought men of wit and pleasantry, came to the chamber of Dionysius, and, as if he was approaching a tyrant, shook his cloak when he entered the room, to show that he had no concealed weapons about him. But Dionysius retorted the jest, by bidding him rather shake his cloak when he went out of the room, to show that he had taken nothing away with him. When Philip of Macedon, as they two were drinking together, began to talk in an ironical manner about the verses and tragedies which Dionysius the elder had left behind him \*, and pretended to wonder

\* Dionysius the elder valued himself on his poetry, but was the worst

wonder how he could get any time from his other business to compose works of that kind; Dionysius well replied, *He used to spend that time in writing, which such clever fellows as you and I spent in getting drunk.* Plato did not see Dionysius at Corinth, being already dead before he came thither. Diogenes of Sinope, at their first meeting in the street there, said to him, *O Dionysius, how little dost thou deserve to live thus!* Upon which Dionysius stopped, and replied, *I am much obliged to you, Diogenes, for the concern you express for my misfortunes. Dost thou imagine then, says Diogenes, that I condole with thee for what has happened, and am not rather heartily vexed, that such a slave as thou, who, if thou hadst thy due, shouldst have been let alone to grow old, and die in the wretched state of tyranny, as thy father did before thee, should now enjoy the quietness and ease of private persons, and be here at thy own disposal, to sport and frolic in our society?* So that when I compare with the words of this philosopher, the doleful exclamations of the historian Philistus concerning the daughters of Leptines, whom he commiserates, *as fallen from all the blessings and advantages of power and greatness to the miseries of an humble life;* they seem to me like the lamentations of a woman who had lost her box of ointment, her purple robe, and her golden trinkets. The particulars I have just now related will not, I presume, be thought useless, or foreign to my design in writing these lives, by such readers as are not in too much haste, or taken up with other concerns.

worst poet in the world. The oracle had foretold, that he should die whenever he overcame those that were better than himself. This he applied to the Carthaginians, and for that reason would never make use of his whole strength against them. But having composed a tragedy, he sent it to Athens, to lay a claim to the prize; and the Athenians, out of sordid flattery, adjudged it to him, and declared him conqueror. Dionysius was so full of joy at this great success, that he prepared a sumptuous entertainment, at which he made so great a debauch, that he fell sick and died.



But if the unhappiness of Dionysius appear strange and extraordinary, we have no less reason to admire the good fortune of Timoleon, who, within fifty days after his landing in Sicily, both recovered the citadel of Syracuse, and sent Dionysius an exile into Peloponnesus. His lucky beginning so animated the Corinthians, that they ordered him a supply of 2000 foot and 200 horse, who, being come as far as Thurium, intended to cross over thence into Sicily; but finding all beset with the Carthaginian ships, which rendered the passage impracticable, they were constrained to stop there, and watch their opportunity. Their time however was employed in a noble action; for the Thurians going out to war against the Brutians, left their city in charge with these Corinthian strangers, who defended it with as much care and fidelity as if it had been their own country.

Icetes in the interim continued still to besiege the citadel, and hindered all provisions from coming in by sea, to relieve the Corinthians that were in it. He had engaged also, and dispatched towards Adranum, two foreign soldiers to assassinate Timoleon, who at other times did not use to have any standing guard about his person, and was then altogether secure, diverting himself without jealousy or suspicion among the citizens of that place, through the confidence he had in the protection of their god Adranus. The villains that were sent upon this enterprise, having casually heard that Timoleon was about to sacrifice, came directly into the temple with poniards under their cloaks, and pressing in among the croud, by little and little got up close to the altar; but as they were just looking for a sign from each other to begin the attempt, a third person struck one of them on the head with a sword, who suddenly falling down, neither he that gave the blow, nor the companion of him that received it, kept their stations any longer; the former,

mer, with his sword in his hand, fled to the top of a high rock, while the other, laying holding of the altar, besought Timoleon to spare his life, promising to reveal the whole conspiracy. His pardon being granted, he confessed, that both himself and his dead companion were sent thither purposely to murder him. While this discovery was making, he that had killed the other conspirator, was brought back from the rock, and loudly protested, that there was no injustice in the fact, for he only took righteous vengeance for his father's blood, of a man that had murdered him before in the city of Leontium; and for the truth of this he appealed to several that were there present, who all attested the same, and could never enough admire that wonderful art by which fortune, making one thing spring from another, and bringing together the most distant incidents, and such as seem to have no relation or agreement, composes one regular series of events closely linked together, and dependent on each other. The Corinthians rewarded the man with a present of ten minæ, because his just indignation had co-operated with the guardian genius of Timoleon, and fortune had not suffered him before to satiate his revenge, but reserved the execution of it till vengeance for his private wrongs secured the life of their general.

But this so fortunate an escape had effects and consequences beyond the present; for it inspired the Corinthians with high expectations of Timoleon, when they saw the people now reverence and protect him as a sacred person, and one sent by the gods to revenge and redeem Sicily. Icetes having missed of his aim in this enterprise, and perceiving also that many went off, and sided with Timoleon, began to reproach himself, that when so considerable a force of the Carthaginians lay ready to be commanded by him, he should employ them hitherto by degrees and in small numbers, as it

were by stealth, and as if he had been ashamed of the action. Therefore he sent for Mago their admiral, with his whole navy; who presently set sail, and seized upon the port with a formidable fleet of 150 vessels, and landing there 60,000 foot, took up his quarters in the city. So that, in all mens opinion, the time anciently talked of, and long expected, when Sicily should be over-run by a barbarous people, was now arrived; for in all their preceding wars, and their many desperate conflicts with the Sicilians, the Carthaginians had never been able to take Syracuse; but Ictes then receiving them, and putting the city into their hands, it became now the camp of these barbarians. By this means the Corinthian soldiers that kept the citadel, found themselves brought into great danger and difficulty; for beside that they began to be in want of provision, because the havens were strictly guarded and blocked up, the enemy harassed them continually with skirmishes and combats about their walls, and they were obliged to divide themselves, and be prepared for assaults of every kind, and to sustain the shock of all those forcible machines and battering engines which are made use of in sieges.

Timoleon however found means to relieve them in these straits, by sending corn from Catana in small fisher-boats and little skiffs, which, taking the advantage of bad weather, commonly got a passage through the Carthaginian galleys, which at the same time were driven about and dispersed by the tempest. When this was observed by Mago and Ictes, they agreed to fall upon Catana, from whence these supplies were brought in to the besieged, and accordingly put off from Syracuse, taking with them the choicest part of their army. Leo the Corinthian, (who commanded in the citadel), taking notice that the enemies which staid behind, were very negligent in keeping guard, made a sudden sally upon them as they lay scattered, wherein killing some,



some, and putting the others to flight, he took possession of that quarter which they call *Achradina*, and which was esteemed the strongest part of the city, and had suffered least from the enemy; for Syracuse is composed of several towns joined together \*. Having thus stored himself with corn and money, he did not abandon the place, nor retire again into the castle, but fortifying the precincts of *Achradina*, and joining it by certain works to the citadel, he undertook the defence of both. Mago and Ictes were now come near to Catana, when a horseman dispatched from Syracuse, brought them tidings that *Achradina* was taken; upon which they returned in great hurry and confusion, having neither been able to reduce the city they went against, nor to preserve that they were masters of before.

In this action, the Corinthians seem to have owed less to fortune than to their own courage and conduct, whereas in that which follows, the whole glory may justly be ascribed to fortune. For the Corinthian soldiers who staid at Thurium, partly for fear of the Carthaginian galleys, which lay in wait for them under the command of Hanno, and partly because of the tempestuous weather which had lasted for many days, took a resolution to march by land over the Brutian territories; and what with persuasion and force together, made good their passage through those Barbarians to the city of Rhegium, the sea being still rough and stormy as before. But Hanno, not expecting the Corinthians would venture out, and supposing it would be in vain to wait there any longer, bethought himself, as he imagined, of a very deep stratagem, to delude

\* There were four; the isle or the citadel, which was between the two ports; *Achradina*, at a little distance from the citadel; *Tyche*, so called from the temple of fortune; and *Neopolis*, or the new city. Livy, Diodorus, Plutarch, and other authors add a fifth, which they call *Epipolæ*. And for this reason Strabo writes that Syracuse was anciently composed of five cities.

and insnare the enemy; in pursuance of which, he commanded the seamen to crown themselves with garlands, and adorning his galleys with bucklers, both of the Greek and Punic form, he sailed to Syracuse; and rowing up to the citadel with loud shouts and laughter, caused it to be proclaimed, that he had just vanquished the Corinthian succours, which he fell upon at sea, as they were passing over into Sicily, intending hereby to dishearten the garrison. While he was employed in these trifling artifices before Syracuse, the Corinthians, now come as far as Rhegium, observing the coast clear, and that the wind was laid as it were by a miracle, to afford them in all appearance a quiet and smooth passage, went immediately aboard such little barks and fisher-boats as were then at hand, and got over to Sicily with so much safety and in such a dead calm, that they drew their horses by the reins, swimming along by the sides of their vessels. When they were all landed, Timoleon came to receive them, and presently took Messina by their means; from whence he marched in good order to Syracuse, trusting more to fortune and his late prosperous achievements, than his present strength; for the whole army he had then with him, did not exceed 4000. Mago was terrified at the first notice of his coming, but his apprehensions increased upon the following occasion. The marshes \* about Syracuse, which receive a great deal of fresh water, as well from springs and fountains, as from lakes and rivers discharging themselves into the sea, breed abundance of eels, which may be always taken there in great quantities by any that will fish for them. The mercenary soldiers that served on both sides, used to follow that sport together at their vacant hours, and upon any cessation of arms. These being all Greeks, and

\* There is one morass that is called *Lyssineia*, and another called *Syraco*. From this last the city took its name. These morasses make the air of Syracuse very unwholesome.

having

having no cause of private enmity to each other, as they would venture bravely in fight, so in time of truce they met and conversed amicably together; and at that time happening to be employed about the common business of fishing, they fell into various discourse, some expressing their admiration of the nature and fruitfulness of that sea, and others saying how much they were pleased with the commodious situation of the adjacent places; this gave a hint to one of the Corinthian party to speak thus to the others: *And is it possible that you, who are Grecians born, should be so forward to reduce a city of this greatness, and which enjoys so many advantages, into a state of barbarism; and lend your assistance to plant Carthaginians, the worst and bloodiest of men, so much nearer to us? whereas you should rather wish there were many more Sicilies to lie between them and Greece? Or can you believe, that they come hither with an army from Hercules's pillars, and the Atlantic sea, to hazard themselves for the establishment of Icetes, who, if he had had the prudence which becomes a general, would never have thrown out his ancestors and founders, to bring in the enemies of his country in the room of them, when he might have enjoyed all suitable honour and command, with the consent of Timoleon and the Corinthians?* The Greeks that were in pay with Icetes, spreading these discourses about their camp, gave Mago (who had long sought for a pretence to be gone) some ground to suspect that there was treachery contrived against him; so that although Icetes entreated him to remain, and made it appear how much stronger they were than the enemy; yet conceiving they came far more short of Timoleon, both as to courage and fortune, than they surpassed him in number, he presently embarked, and set sail for Africa, letting Sicily escape out of his hands in a most ignominious and unaccountable manner. The day after he went away, Timoleon came up before the city, with his army drawn up in order of battle; but when he and his com-  
pany



pany both heard of this sudden flight, and saw the haven empty, they could not forbear laughing at the cowardice of Mago, and by way of mockery caused proclamation to be made, that he should be well rewarded for his intelligence, who could bring them tidings whither it was that the Carthaginian fleet had conveyed itself from them. However Ictes resolving to fight it out alone, and not quitting his hold of the city, but sticking close to those quarters he was in possession of, as places that were well fortified, and not easy to be attacked, Timoleon divided his forces into three parts, and fell upon that side himself where the river Anapus runs, and which was most strong and difficult of access; commanding others that were led by Isius, a Corinthian captain, to make their assault from the post of Achradina; while Dinarchus and Demarethus, who brought him the last supply from Corinth, should with the third division attempt that quarter which is called *Epipolæ*. So that a forcible impression being made from every side at once, the soldiers of Ictes were overpowered and put to flight. Now that the city was taken by storm, and fell suddenly into their hands, upon the defeat of the enemy, is justly to be ascribed to the valour of the combatants, and the wise conduct of their general; but that not so much as a man of the Corinthians was either slain or wounded in the action, this the good fortune of Timoleon seems to challenge for her own work, as if she strove to exceed and obscure his fortitude by her extraordinary favours; that those who should hear him commended for his exploits, might rather admire the happiness than the merit of them. The report of this event did not only spread immediately through all Sicily and Italy, but even Greece itself after a few days resounded with the fame of his success; inso-much that the people of Corinth, who could hardly believe their auxiliaries were yet landed on the  
isle,

ifle, had tidings brought them at the same time that they were both safe and victorious ; in so prosperous a course did affairs run, while fortune added speediness in the execution of every enterprize as a new ornament, to set off the native lustre of Timoleon's achievements. Timoleon being master of the citadel, avoided the error which Dion had been guilty of before ; for he did not spare that place for the beauty and sumptuousness of its fabric ; but avoiding the causes of that suspicion, which first slandered, and then destroyed him, he made a public crier give notice, *that all the Syracusans who were willing to have a hand in the work, should bring proper instruments, and help him to demolish that fortress of tyranny.* When they came all up with one accord, looking upon that order and that day as the certain commencement of their liberty, they not only pulled down the citadel, but overturned the palaces and monuments of the former tyrants. Having soon levelled and cleared the place, he immediately caused a common-hall to be built there for the seat of judicature, gratifying the citizens by this means, and erecting a popular government on the ruins of tyranny. Though the city was thus recovered, yet it was destitute of inhabitants, many of whom had perished in the course of the civil wars and seditions, and others had withdrawn to escape the tyrants ; so that the market-place was overgrown with such quantity of rank herbage, that it became a pasture for their horses, the grooms lying along in the grass as they fed by them. Most of the other towns were likewise desolate, and became harbours for stags and wild boars ; insomuch that they who had leisure went frequently a-hunting, and found game enough in the suburbs, and under the walls ; whilst none of those who had possessed themselves of castles, or established garrisons in the country, could be persuaded to quit their strong holds, or listen to any invitation of returning back into the city ;

so

so much did they all dread the very name of assemblies, corporations, and tribunals, which they looked on as so many nurseries of tyranny. Hereupon Timoleon and the Syracusans determined to write to the Corinthians, and desire them to send a colony out of Greece, to repeople Syracuse, for else the land about it would lie totally uncultivated; besides that they expected to be involved in a greater war from Africa, having news brought them, that Mago had killed himself, and that the Carthaginians, out of rage for his ill conduct in the late expedition, had caused his body to be nailed upon a cross, and that they were raising a very great force, with design to make another descent upon Sicily the next summer. These letters from Timoleon being delivered to the Corinthians, and the ambassadors of Syracuse beseeching them at the same time, that they would take upon them the care of their city, and once again become the founders of it, the Corinthians were so far from taking advantage of their calamities, or appropriating that city to themselves, that in the first place they made proclamation by their heralds at all the sacred games of Greece, and at their solemn meetings where there was the greatest confluence of people, that *the Corinthians having destroyed the usurpation at Syracuse, and driven out the tyrant, did thereby call home the Syracusan exiles, and any other Sicilians that would come and dwell in the city, to an enjoyment of freedom under their own laws, with promise that the land should be divided among them in just and equal proportions.* And after this, sending messengers into Asia, and the several islands, where they understood that most of the scattered fugitives resided, they made it their request, that they would all repair to Corinth, assuring them that the Corinthians would afford them vessels, and commanders, and a safe convoy, at their own charges. As soon as this proposal was known, the Corinthians received from every one that tribute of honour and  
applause



applause which they so justly deserved, for delivering that country from oppressors, saving it from Barbarians, and restoring it at length to the rightful owners. But when they were assembled at Corinth, and found how insufficient their number was, they besought the Corinthians, that they might have a supplement of other persons, as well out of their city as the rest of Greece, to accompany them ; and their number being increased to ten thousand, they sailed together to Syracuse. By this time great multitudes from Italy and Sicily had flocked in to Timoleon, so that, as Athanis the historian reports, they amounted to sixty thousand men : among these he divided the land, but sold the houses for a thousand talents ; by which contrivance he both left it in the power of the old Syracusans to redeem their own, and made that an occasion too of raising a stock for the community, which had been so much impoverished of late, and was so unable to defray other expenses, and especially those of a war, that they exposed their very statues to sale, a kind of regular judicial process being formed, and sentence of auction passed upon each of them by a majority of voices, as if they had been so many criminals. But it is said, the Syracusans agreed to exempt the statue of Gelo, one of their ancient kings, when all the rest were doomed to suffer a common sale, in admiration and honour of the man, and for the sake of that victory he obtained over the Carthaginian forces at Himera \*.

Syracuse being thus happily revived, and replenished again by a general concourse of inhabitants from all parts, Timoleon was desirous now to rescue the other cities from the like bondage, and once for all, to extirpate arbitrary government out of Sicily. For this purpose, marching into the

\* He defeated Hamilcar, who landed in Sicily with three hundred thousand men, in the second year of the 75th Olympiad.

territories of those who exercised it, he compelled Ictes first to renounce the Carthaginian interest, and further to consent to demolish the fortresses which were held by him, and to live among the Leontines as a private person. Leptines also, the tyrant of Apollonia, and of several other little towns, after some resistance made, seeing the danger he was in of being taken by force, made a voluntary surrender of himself; whereupon Timoleon spared his life, and sent him away to Corinth, accounting it a very glorious thing for the city of Corinth to expose to the view of the other Grecians, those Sicilian tyrants living now in an exiled and despicable condition. After this he returned to Syracuse, in order to provide for the civil government of that city, and make the most wholesome and necessary laws in conjunction with Cephalus and Dionysius, two lawyers who had been sent thither from Corinth for that purpose. In the mean while, having a mind that his hired soldiers should not want action, but rather enrich themselves by some plunder from the enemy, he dispatched Dinarchus and Demaretus with them, into a certain province that belonged to the Carthaginians; they, by recovering several cities from the Barbarians, did not only live in great abundance themselves, but raised money from their plunder to carry on the war. But while these matters were transacting, the Carthaginians landed at Lilybaeum, bringing with them an army of 70,000 men, and 200 galleys, besides 1000 other vessels laden with military machines and chariots, a great quantity of corn, and other provisions, as if they intended not to manage the war in a partial manner as before, but to drive the Grecians altogether and at once out of Sicily. And indeed it was a force sufficient to subdue the Sicilians, even if they had been perfectly united among themselves, and much more when they were so enfeebled through their own divisions and animosities. The Carthaginians

Carthaginians therefore hearing that a territory of their dependence was laid waste, presently marched towards the Corinthians with great fury, having Asdrubal and Hamilcar for their generals. The report of their approach soon reached Syracuse, where the people were so terrified at the greatness of such a power, that hardly 3000, among so many myriads of them, had the courage to take up arms and join themselves with Timoleon. The strangers who served for pay were not above 4000 in all, and about 1000 of those, their courage failing, forsook Timoleon in his march towards the enemy, looking on him as a frantic and distracted person, destitute of that sense and consideration, which might have been expected from one of his age, for venturing out against an army of 70,000 men with no more than 5000 foot, and 1000 horse, and chusing besides to remove them eight days journey from Syracuse, so that if they were beaten out of the field, there was no place of retreat; or, if they happened to die upon the spot, there would be none to take care of their burial. Timoleon however reckoned it some advantage, that they had thus discovered themselves before the battle, and encouraging the rest, he led them with all speed to the river Crimæsus, where it was told him the Carthaginians were drawn together. As he was marching up an ascent, from the top of which they might take a view of the strength and posture of the enemy, there met him by chance a company of mules laden with parsley, which his soldiers conceived to be a bad omen, because this is the herb wherewith we usually adorn the sepulchres of the dead; which custom gave birth to that proverb, when we pronounce of one who is dangerously sick, *That he has need of nothing but parsley*. Timoleon, that he might free their minds from these superstitious and discouraging thoughts, caused his men to halt, and ha-



ving alleged many other things in a discourse suitable to the occasion, he concluded it by saying, that a garland of triumph was here luckily brought them, and had fallen into their hands of its own accord even before the victory. For the Corinthians crown the conquerors in their Isthmian games with chaplets of parsley, accounting it a sacred wreath, and proper to their country; for parsley was then the conquering ornament of the Isthmian, as it is now of the Nemean sports, and it is but lately that branches of pine have been made use of for that purpose. Timoleon therefore, as I said, having thus bespoken his soldiers, took part of the parsley, wherewith he made himself a chaplet first, and then his captains and their companies all crowned themselves with it, in imitation of their leader. The soothsayers then observing also two eagles on the wing towards them, one of which bore a serpent struck through with her talons, and the other, as she flew, made a loud and animating kind of noise, they presently showed them to the soldiers, who with one consent fell to supplicate the gods, and implore their assistance. It was now about the beginning of summer, and towards the end of the month Thargelion, near the solstice; the river then sending up a thick mist, all the adjacent plain was first darkened with the fog, so that for a while they could discern nothing of the enemies camp, only a confused noise and undistinguished mixture of voices came up to the hill, from the distant motions and clamours of so vast a multitude. When the Corinthians had gained the top of the hill, where they stopped, and laid down their bucklers to take breath and repose themselves, the sun drawing up the vapours from below, the gross foggy air was now gathered and condensed above, and covered the mountains; but all the plain beneath being clear, the river Crimæsus appeared, and they could easily descry the enemies passing

passing over it, and moving in the following order. First came their warlike chariots, terribly armed for the battle ; after these came 10,000 foot-soldiers, with white targets on their arms, whom they guessed to be all Carthaginians, from the splendour of their weapons, the slowness of their motion, and order of their march ; and when several other nations, flowing in behind them, thronged for passage in a tumultuous and irregular manner, Timoleon perceiving that the river gave them opportunity to chuse out as many of their enemies as they had a mind to engage at once, and bidding his soldiers observe how their forces were divided into two separate bodies by the intervention of the stream, some being already got over, and others preparing to pass it ; he ordered Demaretus to fall in upon the Carthaginians with his horse, and disturb their ranks, before they were drawn up in order ; and coming down into the plain himself, he made up his right and left wing of other Sicilians, intermingling a few strangers in each, but placed the natives of Syracuse in the middle with the stoutest mercenaries he had about his own person, and then staid a little to observe the success of his horse ; but when he saw they were not only hindered from grappling with the Carthaginians, by those armed chariots, that ran to and fro before their army, but forced continually to wheel about, to avoid the danger of having their ranks broken, and then to make frequent careers, in order to return to the attack, he took his buckler in his hand, and cried out to the foot, that they should follow him with courage and confidence, seeming to speak with a more than human accent, and a voice stronger than ordinary ; whether it was that he strained it to that loudness, through an apprehension of the present danger, and from the vehemence and ardour of his mind to assault the enemy, or else (as many then were of opinion) that the

voice of some god was joined with his. When his soldiers answered him with a shout, and besought him to lead them on without any further delay, he made a sign to the horse, that they should draw off from the front where the chariots were placed, and attack their enemies in the flank; then making his vanguard firm, by joining man to man, and buckler to buckler, he caused the trumpet to sound, and so charged the Carthaginians, who firmly sustained his first onset; for being armed with breast-plates of iron, and helmets of brass, beside great bucklers to cover and secure them, they could easily repel the force of their javelins. But when the business came to a decision by the sword, where mastery depends no less upon art than strength, all on a sudden there broke out terrible thunders and flashes of lightning from the mountain-tops; after which, the black clouds that hovered upon the hills, descending to the place of battle, accompanied with a tempest of rain, wind, and hail, fell upon the backs of the Grecians, but full in the face of the Barbarians; so that the stormy showers, and the flames continually issuing from the clouds, dazzled and confounded their fight. These things greatly distressed the Barbarians, especially their unexperienced men; but the very claps of thunder, and the rattling noise of their weapons, beaten with the violence of rain and hail-stones, were not their least annoyance, as this prevented them from hearing the commands of their officers. Beside this, the dirt was also a great hinderance to the Carthaginians, who were less nimble and active, being, as I said before, encumbered with heavy armour; besides, their tunics drenched through with water in the foldings about their bosom, were a great impediment to them as they fought, and gave the Greeks an advantage of overturning them with ease; and when they were once down, it was impossible to disengage themselves from the mire, and rise again with



with such a weight of armour. Besides, the river Crimesus, swoln partly by the rain, and partly by the stoppage of its course from the multitude of those that were passing through, overflowed its banks; and the land on each side having several cavities and channels in it, the water settled there, and the Carthaginians rolling about in them were miserably embarrassed, so that, in fine, the storm and torrent bearing still upon them, and the Greeks having cut in pieces 400 men of their first ranks, the whole body of their army began to fly; great numbers of them being overtaken in the plain, were put to the sword there; and many of them as they fled, falling foul upon others who were yet coming over the river, they all fell and perished together, being borne down by the impetuosity of the stream; but the major part attempting to get up the hills, and so make their escape, were prevented and slain by the light-armed soldiers. It is said, that of 10,000 who lay dead after the fight, 3000 at least were natives of Carthage, a heavy loss to that city; for these were inferior to none among them, either in birth, wealth, or reputation: nor do their records mention that so many Carthaginians were ever cut off before in any one battle; for they usually employed the Africans, Spaniards, and Numidians, in their wars, so that if they chanced to be defeated, it was still at the cost of other nations. The Greeks easily discovered the condition and rank of the slain, by the richness of their spoils; for when they came to strip the bodies, there was very little reckoning made either of brass or iron; so great was the plenty of silver and gold which fell into their hands; for passing over the river, they became masters of the camp and baggage. As for the captives, a great many of them were clandestinely sold by the soldiers, but about 5000 were brought in, and delivered up for the benefit of the public: they took

besides 200 of their chariots. The tent of Timoleon made a very beautiful and magnificent appearance, being surrounded with a variety of spoils and military ornaments, among which there were 1000 breast-plates of exquisite workmanship, and 10,000 bucklers exposed to view. But the victors being but few to strip so many that were vanquished, and meeting too with so great a booty, it was the third day after the fight before they could erect the trophy of their conquest. Timoleon sent tidings of his victory to Corinth, with the richest of the arms he had taken; that he might render his country an object of emulation to the whole world, when, of all the cities of Greece, men should there only behold their chief temples adorned, not with Grecian spoils, nor offerings that were got by the bloodshed and plunder of their own countrymen and kindred, (which must needs create very unpleasant reflections), but with the spoils of Barbarians, which bore this honourable inscription, proclaiming the justice as well as fortitude of the conquerors, *That the people of Corinth, and Timoleon, their general, having redeemed the Grecians that dwelt in Sicily, from Carthaginian bondage, made this offering as a grateful acknowledgment to the gods.* Having done this, he left his hired soldiers in the enemies country, to ravage the Carthaginian territory, and marched with the rest of his army to Syracuse, where he made an edict for banishing the 1000 mercenaries, who had basely deserted him before the battle, and obliged them to quit the city before sunset. Upon their passing over into Italy, they were all treacherously murdered by the Brutians; thus receiving from heaven the just reward of their own perfidy.

But Mamercus the tyrant of Catana, and Icetes, either envying Timoleon the glory of his exploits, or fearing him as one who would upon no terms be reconciled to tyrants, made a league with the Carthaginians, and pressed them very much to send a

new

new army and commander into Sicily, unless they were content to be wholly driven out of that island. Whereupon they dispatched Gisco with a navy of seventy sail; he took several Grecians into pay, that being the first time they had ever been listed for the Punic service; but then it seems the Carthaginians began to admire them, as the most resolute and invincible of mankind. The inhabitants of Messina entering now with one accord into a general conspiracy, slew 400 of those strangers whom Timoleon had sent to their assistance; and within the dependencies of Carthage, at a place called *Hieræ*\*, the mercenaries that served under Euthymus the Leucadian were all cut off by an ambush that was laid for them. From these accidents, however, the felicity of Timoleon grew chiefly remarkable; for these were some of the men that with Philodemus of Phocis, and Onomarchus, had forcibly broke into the temple of Apollo at Delphi†, and were partakers

\* There is no place in Sicily of this name. For which reason, P. Lubin suspects the reading in this place, and thinks it ought to be *Ieræ*, instead of *Ispæ*; near a place called *Hietæ*. For Stephanus *de urbib.* says *Hietæ* is the name of a castle in Sicily; and P. Lubin thinks it to be the same that is now called *Lato*, in the vale of *Mazara*, thirty miles from Palermo to the south.

† This was what gave rise to what is called the *sacred war*. The Amphictyons having condemned the people of Phocis in a fine of several talents, for having plundered the country of *Cyrrha*, which was dedicated to Apollo, and that people being unable to pay it, their whole country was judged forfeited to that god. One of the chief persons of Phocis, whose name was *Philomelus*, (not *Philodemus*), the son of *Theotimus*, called the people together, put himself at the head of them, and seizing all the treasure that was in the temple of Delphi, employed it to raise forces, and so began a war that continued six years with various success. *Philomelus* being defeated, in his flight fell headlong down a precipice; and *Onomarchus* who succeeded in his place, was slain by his own soldiers, and his body was exposed on a cross. *Phayllus* his brother who succeeded him, fell at once into a consumption, that soon killed him. After him, the command fell to *Phalecus* the son of *Onomarchus*, but he was quickly deprived of it, and died afterwards in *Crete*. Of all those persons that had been guilty of sacrilege, there was scarce one but died a violent death. Nay, their very wives who wore the ornaments their husbands brought out of the temple, died miserably. One of them who had worn *Helena's* necklace,



partakers with them in the sacrilege; so that being hated and shunned by all, as so many execrable persons, they were constrained to wander about in Peloponnesus, when, for want of others, Timoleon was glad to entertain them in his expedition to Sicily, where they happened to be successful, in whatever enterprise they engaged under his conduct. But the most and greatest of those battles being now ended, he sent them abroad for the relief and defence of his party in several places, and here they were lost and consumed at a distance from him, not all together, but by degrees; the vengeance then inflicted making Timoleon's prosperity an excuse of its delay, that good men might not suffer any harm by the punishment of the wicked; insomuch that the favour of the gods towards Timoleon was discerned and admired no less from his very miscarriages and disasters, than from any of those former achievements in which he had been most successful.

But that which vexed and provoked the Syracusans most, was, their being affronted by the insolent behaviour of these tyrants: for Mamercus in particular valuing himself much upon the faculty he had of writing poems and tragedies, and being very vain of the advantage he had lately obtained, when he presented to the gods the bucklers that were taken from the mercenaries who had been slain by him, accompanied the offering with this insulting inscription:

*These shields \* with purple, gold, and ivory wrought,  
Were won by us who with plain bucklers fought.*

Afterwards, while Timoleon marched to Calauria, Icetes made an inroad into the territory of the

lace, died shamefully in the very act of prostitution: and another who had worn a necklace of Heryphila's, was burnt to death in her own house, which her son in a fit of madness had set on fire. This war began the last year of the 103th Olympiad, and ended the first year of the 108th.

\* They were bucklers that had been taken out of the temple at Delphi.

Syracusans,

Syracusans, where he met with considerable booty; and having made great havock, he returned back even by Calauria itself, in contempt of Timoleon, and the slender force he had then with him. He suffering Icetes to pass by, pursued him with his horsemen and light infantry; which Icetes perceiving, crossed the river Damyras, and then stood in a posture to receive him; for the difficulty of that passage, and the height and steepness of the bank on each side, gave advantage enough to make him thus confident. But there happened a remarkable contention and emulation among the officers of Timoleon, which a little retarded the battle: for there was none of them that would let another pass over before him to engage the enemy, but every one challenged it as his right, to venture first, and begin the attack; so that their fording over was like to be tumultuous and without order, by their jostling each other and pressing to be foremost. Timoleon therefore desiring this controversy might be decided by lot, took a ring from each of the pretenders, which he cast into his own robe, and having shaken them together, the first he drew out and exposed to view, had by good fortune the figure of a trophy engraven on the seal of it; which when the younger captains saw, they all shouted for joy, and without waiting any longer to see how chance would determine it for the rest, every man took his way through the river with all the speed he could make, and fell upon the enemies, who were not able to bear up against the violence of their attack, but all of them throwing away their arms, betook themselves to flight, leaving 1000 of their men dead upon the place. Not long after, Timoleon, marching to the city of Leontium, took Icetes alive; and his son Eupolemus, and Euthymus the commander of his horse, were bound and brought to him by the soldiers. Icetes and his son were then executed as tyrants and traitors; and Euthymus, though a brave man,

man, and one of singular courage, was slain without mercy, being charged with some contemptuous language that had been used by him, in disparagement of the Corinthians; for it is said, that when they first sent their forces into Sicily, he told the people of Leontium, in a speech, *That the news did not sound terrible, nor was any great danger to be feared*—— if the *Corinthian dames were come abroad* \*. So true is it that the generality of men are more affected by contemptuous words, than hostile actions; and bear disdain and reproach with less patience, than real mischief; for to hurt another by actions is allowable in an enemy, because it is necessary; whereas the virulence of the tongue is an argument of excessive hatred and malignity. When Timoleon came back to Syracuse, the citizens brought the wife and daughters of Icetes to a public trial, who being there condemned to die, did all suffer accordingly. This seems to have been the most exceptionable action of Timoleon's life: for if he had interposed his authority, these women would not have been put to death; but he probably connived at it, and gave them up to the incensed multitude, who thus revenged the injuries which Dion suffered, who expelled Dionysius; for it was this very Icetes who took Arete the wife, and Aristomache the sister of Dion, with a son of his who was yet a child, and threw them all together into the sea alive; as I have related in the life of Dion †.

After

\* This is a parody of a verse or two of Euripides in his tragedy of Medea, in which that princess says, v. 24.

Κορινθίας γυναῖκες, ἔχληθον δόρατι.

Μὴ μοι τὲ μαραίνεσθαι.

*Ye women of Corinth, if I leave my house, do not reproach me for it.* Euthymus turns the sense of it pleasantly enough. Of Κορινθίας γυναῖκες, which is the vocative case in Euripides, *Ye women of Corinth*, he makes a nominative; *the women of Corinth*. And of the ἔχληθαι, which is the first person singular, *I leave*, he makes the third person plural, *had left*.

† From this passage, and another before, it seems as if the life of Dion



After this Timoleon marched towards Catana against Mamercus, who giving him battle near the river Abolus \*, was overthrown and put to flight, with the loss of above 2000 men, a considerable part of which were the Punic troops that Gisco sent to his assistance.

Upon this defeat, the Carthaginians besought him to make a peace with them, which he consented to, upon these conditions : *That they should confine themselves to that part of the country which lies within the river Lycus † ; that such as were desirous to remove from thence to the Syracusans, should have the liberty of doing it with their whole family and fortune ; and that the Carthaginians should renounce all friendship and alliance with the Sicilian tyrants.* Mamercus, forsaken now, and despairing of success, embarked for Italy, with a design to bring in the Lucanians against Timoleon and the people of Syracuse. But when his companions tacked about with their galleys, and landing again at Sicily, delivered up Catana to Timoleon, he was forced to make his escape to Messina, which was under the tyranny of Hippo. Timoleon then coming up against them, and besieging the city both by sea and land, Hippo endeavoured to make his escape in a ship, but was taken by the people of Messina, who sending for their children from school into the theatre, to be entertained as it were with a most agreeable spectacle, the punishment of a tyrant, they first publicly scourged him, and then put him to death. Whereupon Mamercus surrendered himself to Timoleon, with this proviso, that

Dion was written before this. And yet in Dion's life Plutarch speaks as if this was written first. For he says, *as we have written in the life of Timoleon.* It is possible that in both, those words have been added since, and according to the different order in which these lives were placed.

\* By Ptolemy and others, it is called *Alabus*, *Alabis*, or *Alaben*. It is a river near Hybla, between Catana and Syracuse.

† Diodorus gives this river the same name. But it is a question whether both in Diodorus and Plutarch we ought not to alter it for *Halycus*.

he should be tried at Syracuse, and Timoleon have no hand in his accusation. When he was brought thither, and appeared before the people, he attempted to pronounce an oration he had long before prepared; but finding himself interrupted by noise and clamour, and that the whole assembly was inexorable, he threw off his upper garment, and running across the theatre with all his force, violently dashed his head against one of the steps with intention to kill himself; but he had not the fortune to perish, as he designed; for he was taken up alive, and hurried to execution, which was such as is usually inflicted on thieves and common malefactors.

After this manner did Timoleon extirpate tyranny, and put a period to their wars: for whereas, at his first arrival in Sicily, the island was savage and desolate, and hateful to the very natives, from the calamities it had suffered, he so civilized and reformed the country, and rendered it so desirable to all men, that even strangers now came to inhabit those towns which their own citizens had forsaken. For Agrigentum and Gela, two famous cities that had been ruined and laid waste by the Carthaginians after the Attic war, were then peopled again, the one by Megellus and Pheristus, who came from Elea; the other by Gorgus from the island of Ceos, who having picked up some of the old inhabitants, among other company brought them back with the rest to their former dwellings. Timoleon did not only afford them a secure and peaceable abode in their new settlement, after so obstinate a war, but kindly and cheerfully supplied them with every thing necessary; so that he had the same love and respect from them, as if he had been their founder. And this affection and esteem for him was common to all the rest of the Sicilians; so that there was no treaty of peace, no new law, no division of lands, nor political regulation which they could acquiesce

quiesce in, or think well of, unless he assisted in it; as the master-workman puts the finishing hand to the productions of other artists, and gives them that truly divine beauty and perfection, which alone renders them worthy of admiration. For although Greece produced at that time several persons of extraordinary worth, and much renowned for their achievements, such as Timotheus, Agesilaus, Pelopidas, and Epaminondas, the last of whom Timoleon chiefly admired, and endeavoured to imitate; yet in their most splendid actions we may discern a certain violence and laborious effort, which diminishes their lustre; and some of them have even afforded ground for censure, and have been followed with repentance; whereas there is not any one action of Timoleon (setting aside the extremity he was carried to in reference to his brother) to which, as Timæus observes, we may not fitly apply those lines of Sophocles;

*The hand of Venus' self we here may trace.*

*Which o'er this work has spread a matchless grace.*

For as the poetry of Antimachus \*, and the portraits of Dionysius †, both natives of Colophon, have force and vigour enough in them, but yet appear to be strained and elaborate pieces; while the pictures of Nicomachus ‡, and the verses of Homer,

\* Antimachus was an epic poet who lived in the days of Socrates and Plato. He was the author of a poem called *Thebais*. The ancients charged his style with being harsh and bombast. Quintilian x. 1. gives this character of him. On the contrary, in Antimachus, there is force and solidity, and the elevation of his style deserves commendation: but though the grammarians generally allow him the next place to Homer, it is certain that in his works, there is neither passion, sweetness, order, nor any art at all; from whence we see the vast difference between coming near, and having the next place to that great poet.

† Dionysius was a painter who only drew portraits, and no other kind of paintings; for which reason he was called *Anthropographus*, *Man-painter*. Plin. xxxv. 10.

‡ Nicomachus was a very great painter; the son and disciple of Aristodemus. People gave vast prices for his works. *Tabulae singulae opidorum*



mer, besides other advantages of strength and beauty, have this peculiar excellence, that they seem to be produced with ease; so likewise if with the expeditions of Epaminondas, or Agesilaus, which were full of toils and struggles, we compare that of Timoleon, there appears such facility as well as greatness in his exploits, that all men of sound judgment must consider them as the effects, not indeed of fortune, but of fortunate virtue. He himself, it is true, ascribed his great success to Fortune alone; for both in the letters which he wrote to his friends at Corinth, and in those speeches he made to the people of Syracuse, he frequently said, *That he was very thankful to Fortune, who (designing to preserve Sicily) was pleased to honour him with the name and title of its deliverer.* And having built a chapel in his house, he there sacrificed to Chance, and consecrated the house itself to Fortune\*. This house the Syracusans built for him as a reward and monument of his brave exploits; and they gave him an estate besides in the most pleasant and beautiful part of the country; and here he chiefly resided with his wife and children, who came to him

*pidorum veniant opibus,* says Pliny. What Plutarch says here, that his paintings seemed easy, and not to have cost him much labour, is agreeable to what Pliny writes, *that nobody painted so fast as he did;* a proof of which is as follows. Aristotus the tyrant of Sicily having made choice of him to paint a monument he designed to erect to the poet Telestus, and having agreed with him for the price, on condition that it should be finished by a certain day; and Nicomachus not appearing till a few days before that on which he had agreed to deliver the picture; the tyrant was so much provoked that he was going to punish him; but the painter made good his agreement, and in those few days that were left performed his work with no less surprising mastery than speed. *Celeritate et arte mira.* Plin.

\* The distinction between Chance and Fortune is this. Those events are to be ascribed to Chance, which are produced without any design or agency either human or divine: that there are such events, seems to have been the opinion of some modern as well as ancient philosophers. But when the ancients ascribed any event to Fortune, they did not mean to deny the operation of the Deity in it, but only to exclude all human contrivance and power from any share in the production of it.

from

from Corinth; for he returned thither no more, being unwilling to be concerned in the broils and tumults of Greece, or to expose himself to the public envy, that fatal rock which many great commanders run upon, from an insatiable appetite of honour and power. He therefore chose to spend the remainder of his days in Sicily, and there to partake of those blessings of which he was the author; the greatest whereof was, to behold so many cities flourish, and so many thousands of people live happy through his means. But since, according to the comparison of Simonides, every republic must have some impudent slanderer, just as every lark \* must have a crest on his head, thus it happened at Syracuse; where two of their popular orators, Laphystius and Democænetus, attacked Timoleon; the former of whom requiring him to put in sureties, that he would answer to a certain indictment which was to be brought against him, Timoleon would not suffer the citizens, who were incensed at his demand, to oppose the man, and hinder him from proceeding, since he of his own accord had been at so much trouble, and run so many risks for this very end, that every one of them who had a mind to try matters by law, should freely have recourse to it. And when Democænetus, in a full audience of the people, laid several things to his charge, which he had done while he was general, he made no other reply to him, but only said, *He was much indebted to the gods, for granting the request he had so often made them, that he might live to see the Syracusans enjoy that liberty of speech which they now seemed to be masters of.*

Timoleon having, by the confession of all, performed the greatest and noblest actions of any Grecian of his age; having alone obtained the pre-e-

\* The original signifies that species of larks called in Latin *Cassica* or *Galerita*.

minence in those things, to which their orators always exhorted the Greeks in the harangues which they usually made at their solemn national assemblies; being by the favour of fortune removed, unspotted with the blood of his countrymen, from the calamities of civil war, wherein Greece was soon after involved; having sufficiently manifested his conduct and courage to the Barbarians and tyrants, and his justice and humanity to the Greeks, and all his friends in general; having moreover raised the greater part of those trophies he won in battle, without any tears shed, or any mourning worn by the citizens either of Syracuse or Corinth; and having within less than eight years space delivered Sicily from its intestine calamities and distempers, and restored it to the native inhabitants, his eyes began to fail him as he grew in years, and in time he became perfectly blind; not that he had done any thing himself that might occasion this defect \*, or was deprived of his sight by any outrage or caprice of fortune †, but it seems to have been owing to some inbred and constitutional weakness, which by degrees came to discover itself; for it is said, that several of his family were subject to the like gradual decay, and lost all use of their eyes, as he did, in their declining years. But Athanis the historian tells us, that even during the war against Hippo and Mamercus, while he was in his camp at Mylae, there appeared a white speck within his eye, which was a plain indication of the total blindness that was coming on him. However, this did not hinder him then from continuing the siege and prosecuting that war, till he got both the tyrants into his power.

\* Plutarch adds this to prevent the superstitious fancies of the common people, who imagine that when any remarkable misfortune happens, and especially to persons of distinguished eminence, that it is sent as a punishment for some heinous crime they have been guilty of.

† By the word *κακοῖν δαίμων* Plutarch represents fortune as a drunken person that is apt to use his best friends ill.



But upon his coming back to Syracuse, he presently resigned the authority of sole commander, and besought the citizens to excuse him from any further service, seeing things were already brought to so happy a conclusion. It is not so much to be wondered at, that he himself should bear the misfortune patiently; but that respect and gratitude which the Syracusans showed him during his blindness, may justly deserve our admiration. They not only visited him frequently themselves, but brought all the strangers that travelled through their country to his house in the city, and to his villa, that they also might have the pleasure to see their benefactor; making it the great matter of their joy and exultation, that when, after so many brave and successful exploits, he might have returned with so much splendour and triumph into Greece, he should despise the honours that awaited him there, and chuse rather to end his days among them. Though many other things were decreed and done in honour of Timoleon, I reckon this vote of the Syracusans to be a signal testimony of their value for him, *That whenever they should happen to be at war with any foreign nation, they should make use of none but a Corinthian general.* And the method of their proceeding in their assemblies, was a demonstration of their respect for him; for though they determined matters of less consequence themselves, they always consulted him in more difficult and important cases. On these occasions he was carried through the market-place in a litter, which was brought into the theatre, he still sitting in it; the people then with one voice saluted him; and after he had returned their civility, he paused for a time, till the noise of their gratulations and applause began to cease; he then heard the business in debate, and delivered his opinion, which being confirmed by a general suffrage, his servants went back with the litter through the midst of the assembly; and the people,

after waiting on him out with loud acclamations, returned to consider of such public causes as they used to dispatch in his absence. Thus was he cherished by them in his old age, with the same honour and benevolence as if he had been their common father. At last he was seized with an indisposition, which was but slight in itself, but being joined with old age it put a period to his life. As soon as he was dead, the Syracusans had a certain time allowed them wherein they were to provide whatever should be necessary for his burial; and all the neighbouring inhabitants and strangers were to make their appearance in a body. The funeral pomp was celebrated with great splendour and magnificence in all other respects, and the bier being decked with rich ornaments, was borne by a select number of young gentlemen over that ground where the palace and castle of Dionysius stood, before they were demolished by Timoleon. There attended on the solemnity several thousands of men and women, all crowned with flowers, and dressed in white, which made it look like the procession at a public festival. Their lamentations and tears mingled with the praises of the deceased, manifestly showed that it was not any superficial honour, or forced homage, which they then paid him, but the testimony of a just sorrow for his death, and the expression of real love and gratitude. The bier at length being placed upon the pile of wood that was kindled to consume his corpse, Demetrius, one of their criers, who had a louder voice than any of the rest, began to read a written edict to this purpose:—*The people of Syracuse has decreed to inter Timoleon the Corinthian, the son of Timodemus, at the common expense of 200 minæ, and to honour his memory for ever by an appointment of annual games, to be celebrated by music, and horse-races, and all sorts of gymnastic exercises; and that because he destroyed tyrants, overthrew the barbarians, repopled many great cities that were ruinous and desolate before,*

before, and then restored to the Sicilians the privilege of living under their own laws. Beside this, they made a tomb for him in the market-place, which they afterwards furrounded with a portico, and joining other buildings to it, made it a place of exercise for their youth, and gave it the name of *Timoleonteum*; and by maintaining that form of civil policy, and observing those laws which he left them \*, they lived themselves a long time in great prosperity.

\* The Sicilians had laws written by Diocles, which Timoleon only amended. All the laws relating to wills and contracts, he left unaltered, because in those matters they probably followed the Grecian customs; but he changed all that related to the civil government, because every thing had been subverted by tyranny.

THE



# THE LIFE

O. F.

## PAULUS ÆMILIUS.

**I** First undertook to write these lives, that I might be serviceable to others, but I persevere in my design for my own advantage; the virtues of these great men being a sort of mirror, from which I learn to adjust and regulate my own conduct. For by this means, I, as it were, live and converse with them, and each of them by turns seems to be my guest; thus they afford me an opportunity of seeing *how great and wonderful they were*\*, and selecting such of their actions as are most memorable and illustrious. And,

*What greater blessing can the gods bestow,*

than so powerful an incitement to virtue? Democritus† laid it down as a principle in his philosophy, (though

\* These words in the original, "Ὅσος ἦν οἶός τε," are taken from a passage in the 24th book of Homer's Iliad.

Ἦτοι Δαρδανίδης Πρίαμος Δαῦμαζ' Ἀχιλλῆα,

"Ὅσος ἦν, οἶός τε, Διοῖσι γὰρ ἄνταρ ἴακει.

Priam in his turn surveyed Achilles; he considered how great, how wonderful he was; for indeed he looked like a god.

† Democritus held that sight was formed after the following manner: that the visible objects produced their image or resemblance in the ambient air, which image produced a second, and that second, a third still less than the former; and that finally the last produced its counterpart in the eye. This was not all; he maintained further, that thought was formed after the same manner, according as those forms

or

(though utterly false, and tending to endless superstition), that there were phantasms appearing in the air, and tells us that we ought to pray, that such may present themselves as are propitious, and that we may see those that are agreeable to our natures, and will instruct us in that which is good, rather than such as are unfortunate, and will lead us into vice. But my method is, by daily conversing with history, and by a diligent collection of what I read, to fill my mind with the images of the best and greatest men; and by seriously and sedately considering such noble examples, I am enabled to free myself from that contagion of idleness and vice, which I may have contracted from the ill company I am sometimes forced to converse with. The lives I have now undertaken to write, are those of Timoleon the Corinthian, and Paulus Æmilius, men not only equally famous for their virtues, but success; insomuch that they have left it doubtful, whether they owed their greatest achievements to good fortune, or to their own prudence and conduct.

Almost all historians agree, that the family of the Æmilii was one of the most ancient among the Roman nobility; and those authors who affirm that Numa was pupil to Pythagoras, tell us, that the first who gave this name to his posterity was Mamercus, the son of that philosopher \*, who, for his peculiar elegance and gracefulness in speaking, was called Æmilius. Those of this family who have been much celebrated, have in general been as remarkable for their success as for their virtue. Lucius Paulus † was indeed unfortunate at the battle of Cannæ,

or images struck upon the imagination; that of these there were some good, and some evil; that the good produced virtuous thoughts in us, and the evil the contrary.

\* See the life of Numa, vol. 1. p. 232.

† From Lucius Æmilius, who was consul in the year of Rome 270, and overcame the Volscians, to Lucius Paulus, the father of Paulus.

Cannæ, though he gave ample testimony of his wisdom and valour. For not being able to dissuade his colleague from hazarding the battle, he, though against his judgment, joined with him in the engagement; but was no companion in his flight; on the contrary, when he was deserted by him who had brought him into the danger, he still kept the field, and died fighting. This *Æmilius* had a daughter named *Æmilia*, who was married to *Scipio the Great*, and a son called *Paulus*, who is the subject of my present history.

His first appearance in the world was at a time when Rome abounded with men renowned for their virtues and other excellent accomplishments\*; and even among these, *Æmilius* in his youth made a distinguished figure, though he did not follow the ordinary studies of the young men of quality of that age, nor tread the same paths to fame. For he did not exercise himself in pleading causes, nor would he stoop to salute, embrace, and caress the vulgar, which were the usual insinuating arts by which many grew popular. Not that he was incapable of either, but he chose to pursue the nobler fame of valour, justice, and integrity; and in these virtues he soon surpassed all his equals.

The first considerable office for which he was a candidate, was that of ædile, which he carried against twelve competitors of such merit and quality, that all of them in process of time were consuls. Being afterwards chosen one of the augurs†, who

*Paulus Æmilius*, who fell in the battle at Cannæ in the year 537, there had been many of those *Æmilii* renowned for their victories and triumphs; so that it is surprising that none of those who undertook to write the lives of illustrious men should take notice of any of them but of this last, and of his son, whose life is now before us.

\* The *Sempronii*, the *Albini*, the *Fabii Maximi*, the *Marcelli*, the *Scipio's*, the *Fulvii*, *Sulpicii*, *Cethegi*, *Metelli*, and other illustrious patriots.

† All the youth of quality, who had thoughts of advancing themselves in the government, were admitted into this society.

amongst



amongst the Romans were to observe and register such divinations as were made by the flight of birds or prodigies in the air, he with such attention studied the ancient customs of his country, and the religion of his ancestors, that this office, which was before only sought after, because it conferred a title of honour \*, was by him made to consist in the exercise of one of the most sublime arts. And he proved that definition of religion to be true which is given by some philosophers, that it is the knowing how we ought to worship the gods. When he performed any part of his duty, he did it with great skill and the utmost care, making it his only business, not omitting any one ceremony, nor adding the least circumstance, but always contending with his colleagues about things that might seem inconsiderable, and telling them, that though they might think the deity was easily pacified, and ready to forgive faults of inadvertency and negligence, yet such favour and pardon would be dangerous for a commonwealth to grant; because no man ever began to disturb his country's peace, by a notorious breach of its laws; but men by degrees grow negligent in things of greatest concern, by giving themselves liberty in matters of less moment. Nor was he less severe, in requiring and observing the ancient Roman discipline in military affairs; not endeavouring, when he had the command, to ingratiate himself with his soldiers by popular flattery; though this custom prevailed at that time amongst many, who, by ma-

\* Nothing was more absolute than the power and authority of these augurs. They had the privilege of dismissing assemblies, though summoned by order of the chief magistrates, and to annul whatever had been transacted in them. An augur need only pronounce *another day*, and all was at a stop. They could oblige the consuls to quit their office; and had a right to confer with the people, to grant or refuse whatever they pleased, and abrogate the laws that had been enacted. In short, nothing done by the magistrates, either within the walls, or without, could be ratified without their authority. *Cic. lib. 2. de legibus.*

king their court to those that were under them in their first employment, sought to be promoted to a second. But Æmilius, by instructing them in the laws of military discipline, with the same care and exactness which a priest would observe in teaching his ceremonies and sacred mysteries, and by being severe to such as transgressed and contemned those laws, re-established his country in its former glory; esteeming victory the necessary consequence of good discipline.

Whilst the Romans were engaged in war with Antiochus the Great \*, against whom their most experienced commanders were employed †, there arose another war in the west, there being great commotions in Spain ‡. Thither they sent Æmilius, in the quality of prætor, not with six axes, which number other prætors were accustomed to have carried before them, but with twelve, so that in his prætorship he was honoured with the dignity of a consul. Twice he overcame the Barbarians in battle, and slew thirty thousand of them. This victory is chiefly to be ascribed to the wisdom and conduct of the commander, who by his great skill in chusing the advantage of the ground, and making the onset at the passage of a river, led his soldiers to an easy conquest. Having made himself master of 250 cities, whose inhabitants voluntarily yielded, and obliged themselves by oath to fidelity, he left the province in peace, and returned to Rome, not enriching himself a drachma by the war. The truth is, he was always indifferent to riches, but lived splendidly and generously on his own estate, which was so far from being great, that af-

\* This war with Antiochus the Great, king of Syria, began about the year of Rome 561, twenty-four years after the battle of Cannæ.

† The consul Glabrio, and after him the two Scipio's, the elder of whom was content to serve as lieutenant under his brother. The reader may find an account of this war in the thirty-seventh book of Livy.

‡ Spain had been reduced by Scipio Nasica.

ter his death there was scarce enough left to answer his wife's dowery.

His first wife was Papiria, the daughter of Maso, who had formerly been consul, with whom he lived a long time in wedlock, and afterwards divorced her, though she bare him a very illustrious offspring, for she was mother to the famous Scipio, and Fabius Maximus. The reason of this separation is not come to our knowledge; but what was said by another Roman who had been divorced from his wife, seems to be very just. This person being highly blamed for it by his friends, who demanded, *Was she not chaste? Was she not fair? Was she not fruitful?* holding out his shoe, asked them, *Whether it was not new and well made?* Yet, added he, *none of you can tell where it wrings me.* Certain it is, that great and open faults are the usual occasions of mens putting away their wives, yet little jarrings and private distastes, which frequently recur and arise from the disagreeableness of their tempers, and peevishness of their dispositions, though they may be concealed from others, often cause so great an estrangement and alteration in affection, that it is not possible for them to live together, with any content. Æmilius having thus put away Papiria, married a second wife; by her he had two sons, whom he brought up in his own house, adopting the two former into the greatest and most noble families of Rome. The elder was adopted by the son of Fabius Maximus, who had been five times consul; and the younger by the son of Scipio Africanus, his cousin-german, and was by him named *Scipio*. One of Æmilius's daughters was married to the son of Cato the censor, the other to Ælius Tubero, a man of an excellent character, and who above all the Romans knew how to support poverty with fortitude. For there were sixteen near relations, all of them of the family of the



Ælii, who were possessed of but one farm, which sufficed them all, whilst a small house contained them, their numerous offspring, and their wives; amongst whom was the daughter of our Æmilius; who, although her father had been twice consul, and had twice triumphed, was not ashamed of her husband's poverty, but admired his virtue, to which his poverty was owing. Far otherwise it is with the brothers and relations of this age, who, if different countries, or at least walls and rivers, part not their inheritances, live at variance, and never cease from mutual quarrels. These are useful instructions, which history suggests to such as read with attention, and endeavour to profit by reading.

Æmilius being chosen consul, marched against the Ligurians, or Ligustines, a people dwelling near the Alps. They were a valiant and warlike nation, and, from their neighbourhood to the Romans, well skilled in the same discipline and arts of war. For they possessed the utmost bounds of Italy, which border upon the Alps, and that part of the same mountains which is washed by the Tuscan sea, over-against Africa, and were mingled with the Gauls and Spaniards, who inhabited the coast. Besides, at that time they were strong at sea, and sailing as far as Hercules's pillars in light vessels fitted for that purpose, robbed and destroyed all that trafficked in those parts. They waited the coming of Æmilius with an army of 40,000 men; he brought with him not above eight, so that the enemy were five to one when they engaged; notwithstanding which, he routed them and forced them to retire into their walled towns, and in this condition gave them hopes of an accommodation; it being the policy of the Romans not utterly to destroy the Ligurians, because they were a guard and bulwark against the Gauls, who made such frequent attempts to over-run Italy. Trusting wholly therefore to Æmilius, they delivered up their towns and shipping

ping into his hands. He only razed the fortifications, and delivered their towns to them again; but all their shipping he took away with him, leaving them no vessels bigger than those of three ranks of oars, and set at liberty great numbers of prisoners they had taken both by sea and land, strangers as well as Romans. These were the most remarkable things he did in his first consulship.

Afterwards he frequently declared his desire of being a second time consul, and was once candidate; but meeting with a repulse, he solicited for it no more, but was wholly intent upon his office of augur, and the education of his children, whom he not only brought up, as he himself had been, in the Roman discipline, but also in that of Greece, which was esteemed more genteel and honourable. To this purpose he not only entertained masters to teach them grammar, logic, and rhetoric, but sculpture also, and painting, together with such as were skilful in breeding horses and dogs, and could instruct them in hunting and riding. And if he was not hindered by public affairs, he himself would be with them at their studies, and see them perform their exercises, being the most indulgent of fathers amongst the Romans.

As to public affairs, the Romans were at that time engaged in a war with Perseus, king of the Macedonians\*, and highly blamed their commanders†, who, through want of skill and courage, had so absurdly and shamefully conducted the expedition, that they did less hurt to the enemy than they received from him. For they who not long before had forced Antiochus the Great to quit the rest of Asia, and driving him beyond Mount Tau-

\* This second Macedonian war with Perseus began in the year of Rome 382, 169 years before the birth of our Saviour.

† Those generals were P. Licinius Crassus, after him A. Hostilius Mancinus, and at last Q. Marcius Philippus, who spun out the war during the three years of their consulship.

rus, confined him to Syria, glad to buy his peace with 15,000 talents; they who lately had vanquished King Philip \* in Thessaly, and freed the Greeks from the Macedonian yoke; nay, had overcome Hannibal himself, a more powerful and courageous enemy than any king, thought it a reproach, that Perseus should contend with them upon equal terms, and be able to carry on the war against them so long, with the remainder only of his father's routed forces. But they did not consider, that the Macedonian army was become much more powerful and expert after the overthrow of Philip. To make which appear, I shall briefly recount the story from the beginning.

Antigonus †, who was the most potent amongst the captains and successors of Alexander, having obtained for himself and his posterity the title of king, had a son named *Demetrius*, father to Antigonus called *Gonatas*; his son was called *Demetrius*, who reigning some short time, died, and left a young son called *Philip*. The nobility of Macedonia fearing great confusions might arise in the minority of their prince, intrusted the government to Antigonus, cousin-german to the late king, whose widow, the mother of Philip, he also married. At first they only stiled him regent and general; but when they found by experience, that he governed the kingdom with moderation, and to their advantage, they gave him the title of King. This was

\* This service was performed by Quinctius Flamininus, who defeated Philip in Thessaly, killed eight thousand of his men upon the spot, took five thousand prisoners, and after his victory caused proclamation to be made by an herald at the Isthmian games that all the Greeks were free.

† He was the son of a Macedonian, called *Philip*, who was of the race of the Temenides. He left two sons, this Antigonus, and another called *Demetrius*. Antigonus had a command in the army under Philip and Alexander. He killed Eumenes, and took Babylon from Seleucus; and when his son Demetrius had overthrown Ptolemy's fleet at Cyprus, he, the first of all Alexander's successors, presumed to wear a crown, and assumed the title of king.



he that was furnamed *Dofon* \*, because he was very ready to promise, but never performed his promises. He was succeeded by Philip, who in his youth gave great hopes of equalling the best of kings, and that he one day would restore Macedon to its former state and dignity, and be alone able to put a stop to the power of the Romans, which was now extending itself over the whole world. But being vanquished in a pitched battle by Titus Flamininus, near Scotusa, his resolution failed, and he yielded himself and all that he had to the mercy of the Romans, being glad to compound with them upon payment of a moderate tribute. Yet afterwards recollecting himself, he bore it with great regret, and thought he lived rather like a slave who desires nothing beyond food and ease, than like a man of spirit and courage, whilst he held his kingdom at the will of his conquerors. This made him resolve upon a war, and prepare himself with as much cunning and privacy as possible. To this end, he left his cities on the high-roads and sea-coast ungarrisoned and almost desolate, that they might seem inconsiderable; in the mean time he furnished his midland castles, strong holds and towns, with arms, money, and men fit for service; and thus his military force (like a wrestler trained and exercised in secret) was without any show of war, in constant readiness for action. He had in his armoury arms for 30,000 men; in his granaries, eight millions of bushels of corn, and in his coffers as much ready money as would defray the charge of maintaining 10,000 mercenary soldiers, to defend his country for ten years. But before he could put his designs in execution, he died for grief and anguish of mind, being sensible he had unjustly put to death Demetrius one of his sons, upon the calumnies of the other, who was far more guilty. Perseus, his

\* *Dofon* signifies he that is about to give.

son that survived, inherited his hatred to the Romans, as well as his kingdom; but was very unfit to carry on his designs, through his want of courage, and the viciousness of his manners, especially when, amongst the many vices and disorders of his mind, covetousness bore the chief sway. There is a report also, that he was not legitimate, but that the wife of King Philip took him as soon as he was born from his mother Grathania, a sempstress of Argos, and brought him up privately as her own. And this might be the chief cause of his contriving the death of Demetrius; for he might well fear, that whilst there was a lawful successor in the family, his illegitimacy would be discovered. But notwithstanding his spirit was so mean and sordid, yet trusting to the strength of his preparations, he engaged in a war with the Romans, and for a long time maintained it. Some of their generals, and those of consular dignity, and at the head of great armies and fleets, he repulsed, and some of them he vanquished. For he overcame Publius Licinius \*, who was the first that invaded Macedonia, in an engagement of the cavalry; in which he slew 2300 of his bravest soldiers, and took 600 prisoners; and surprising the Roman fleet as it rode at anchor before Oreum, he took twenty ships of burden, with all their lading, and sunk the rest that were freighted with corn. Besides this, he made himself master of four galleys with five ranks of oars; and fought another battle with Hostilius the consul, whom he forced to retreat when he was making an inroad into his country by the way of Elimia; and when Hostilius afterwards stole a march, and was moving secretly through Thessaly, he urged him to fight, but the other would not stand the hazard.

\* Livy has given us a description of this action at the end of his forty-second book. Perseus offered peace to those he had conquered upon easy conditions as if he himself had been overthrown, but the Romans refused it.

Nay more, to show his contempt of the Romans, and as if he wanted employment, he by the by made an expedition against the Dardanians, in which he slew 10,000 of those barbarous people, and brought a very great spoil away with him. He privately also solicited the Gauls, who live near the Danube, and are called *Bastarnæ*, a very warlike people, and particularly formidable for their cavalry; he also practised with the Illyrians, by the means of Genthius their king, and urged them to join with him in this war. It was likewise reported, that the barbarians being allured by him through the promise of rewards, were to make an irruption into Italy, through the lower parts of Gallia Cisalpina, near the Adriatic sea.\*

The Romans being advertised of these things, thought it necessary no longer to chuse their commanders for favour or solicitation, but to pitch upon one for their general, who was a man of wisdom, and versed in the management of great affairs. And such was Paulus Æmilius: he was now indeed advanced in years, being near threescore; yet his strength was not impaired, and he was surrounded with his valiant sons and sons-in-law, beside a great number of very considerable relations and friends, who all of them perswaded him to yield to the desires of the people, who called him to the consulship. At first he gave no ear to their solicitations, but, as one averse to govern, refused both the honour and care that attended it; yet when he saw them flocking daily to his gate, urging him to come forth to the place of election, and loudly censuring him for his refusal, he at last granted their request. When he appeared amongst the candidates, he did not look like one suing for the consulship, but as one who brought certain vic-

\* That report proved very true. Polybius, a contemporary author, tells us what passed in the embassy Perseus sent to Genthius, who demanded 300 talents of the Macedonians.



tory and success, by yielding to come down into the field; so great was the joy and confidence which the people expressed. They unanimously chose him a second time consul; nor would they suffer the lots to be cast as was usual, to determine which province should fall to his share, but immediately decreed him the command of the Macedonian war \*. It is reported, that the very day wherein he was appointed general in that expedition, and was honourably accompanied home by great numbers of people, he found his daughter Tertia, a very little girl, all in tears; whereupon he took her in his arms, and asked her, *Why she cried?* She catching him about the neck, and kissing him, said, *O father, know you not that our Perseus is dead?* meaning a little dog of that name that was a favourite with her. To which Æmilius replied, *It happens fortunately, my daughter; I embrace the omen.* This Cicero the orator relates in his book of divination.

It was the custom for such as were chosen consuls, to address the people in an obliging manner from the rostrum, and return them thanks for their favour. Æmilius therefore having summoned an assembly, told them, *That he sued for the first consulship, because he himself stood in need of such honour; but for the second, because he knew they wanted such a general; upon which account he thought there were no thanks due from him to them: if they judged they could manage the war by any other to more advantage, he would willingly yield up his charge; but if they confided in him, they must not interfere with him in his office, or prescribe what was to be done, but silently and submissively furnish him with every thing necessary to the carrying on of the war: for if they endeavoured to govern him who was to command, they would render this expedition more ridiculous than the former.* By this speech he inspired the citizens with reverence for him, and great expectations.

\* Livy says the contrary.

of future success; they being all well pleased, that they had passed by such as sought to be preferred by flattery, and pitched upon a commander of such noble sentiments, and who had the courage to tell them the truth. Thus the people of Rome were servants to reason and virtue, that they might one day rule, and make themselves masters of the world.

That Æmilius, when he set out for the war had a prosperous voyage and journey, and arrived with speed and safety at his camp, I attribute to good fortune; but when I consider the conduct of the war itself, and that his own courage, activity, and prudence, the zeal of his friends, his resolution and presence of mind in the midst of danger, all contributed to his success, I cannot ascribe any of his remarkable actions (as I can those of other commanders) to his so much celebrated good fortune; unless it may be said, that the covetousness of Perseus was the good fortune of Æmilius. And indeed the fear of spending his money, was the destruction and utter ruin of all those splendid and great preparations, by the help of which the Macedonians were in hopes to carry on the war with success. For he had prevailed with the Bastarnæ to send to his assistance a body of ten thousand horse, who had each a foot-soldier by his side \*, all of them mercenaries, a people neither skilled in tilling of land, or merchandise, or feeding of cattle, but whose only business and perpetual study it was to fight and conquer. When these came near Medica, and were encamped and mixed with the king's soldiers, being

\* Livy has very well described this horseman and his foot-soldier. *Veniebant decem millia equitum, par numerus peditum, et ipsorum iungenium, cui sum equis, et in vicem prolapsorum equitum vacuos capientium ad pugnam equos.* "There came ten thousand horsemen and as many foot, who kept pace with the horse, and when any of the cavalry were unhorsed, they mounted, and went into the ranks." They are the same with those described by Cæsar in the first book of his commentaries, where he is giving an account of Ariovistus's army.

men of great stature, dexterous in their exercises, great boasters, and loud in their threats against their enemies, they added courage to the Macedonians, who fancied the Romans would not be able to stand against them, but would be frightened at their very looks and motions, which were so strange and terrible. When Perseus had thus encouraged his men, and puffed them up with these great hopes, as soon as a thousand pieces of gold were demanded for each captain, according to agreement, he was so astonished and distracted at the vastness of the sum, that his covetousness made him send them back, and refuse their assistance, as if he had been the steward, not the enemy of the Romans, and was to give an exact account of the expenses of the war, to those with whom he waged it. \* For though he had made such vast preparations, though he had money in his treasury sufficient to pay an hundred thousand men, and though he was to engage against so considerable a force, and in such a war, whose necessary expenses must needs be very great; yet he weighed and sealed up his money, as if he feared or had no right to touch it. And all this was done by one, not descended from the Lydians or Phoenicians, but who challenged to himself the virtues of Alexander and Philip, from his

\* The original in this place is extremely corrupt. Mr Dacier corrects it from a manuscript, and translates in thus, in which he agrees with the Latin translation: *Though he ought to have learned better from the example of the Romans themselves, who beside their other preparations had 100,000 men collected and ready for service. But this emendation cannot be true; for, not to mention other objections, it is not only improbable in itself that the Romans should send such an army into Macedonia, but it is inconsistent with the account which both Livy and Plutarch himself give of the number of the Roman forces under Æmilius. It is impossible, as the passage stands, to determine the meaning of it with certainty; but the translation here given of it is at least more likely to be the true one than the other, as it perfectly agrees with what Plutarch has said before, p. 269. that Perseus's father, beside his other preparations, had money sufficient to maintain 10,000 men for ten years.*

alliance



alliance to them; men who conquered the world by judging, that empire was to be purchased by money, not money by empire. For it was commonly said, *That not Philip, but his gold took the cities of Greece.* And Alexander when he undertook an expedition against the Indians, and found that his Macedonians were encumbered, and marched heavily with their Persian spoils, first set fire to his own carriages, and then persuaded the rest to imitate his example; that thus freed, they might proceed to the war without hinderance. Whereas Perseus, though himself, his children, and his whole kingdom abounded in wealth, would not purchase his preservation at the expense of a small part of it; but chose rather to appear as a rich captive, and to be led in triumph with all his treasure; as if he was desirous to show the Romans what a provident economist he had been for them. For he not only broke his word with the Gauls, and dismissed them, but likewise defrauded Genthius king of Illyria, whom, by promising to pay him 300 talents, he had persuaded to join in the war against the Romans. Some persons being sent to receive the money, it was paid, and sealed up. Genthius now thinking himself secure of the sum he had demanded, in violation of all the laws of honour and justice, imprisoned the Roman ambassadors who were with him. Perseus, informed of what Genthius had done, concluded that there was now no further need of money, to make him an enemy to the Romans, he having given such an earnest of his enmity, and by this scandalous action thoroughly involved himself in the war; he therefore defrauded the unfortunate king of his 300 talents, and without any concern beheld him, his wife and children, in a short time after, dragged out of their kingdom, as from their nest, by Lucius Anicius, who was sent against him with an army.

Æmilius coming against such an adversary, made  
light

light of his person, but admired his preparations and force : for he had 4000 horse, and not much fewer than 40,000 Macedonian foot ; and encamping by the sea-side, at the foot of Mount Olympus, in a place impossible to be approached, and on all sides fortified with fences and bulwarks of wood, he remained there in great security, thinking to weary out Æmilius by protracting the time, and putting him to a great expense. But he, in the mean time, wholly intent on his business, weighed every expedient, and method of attack ; and perceiving his soldiers, from their former want of discipline, to be impatient of delay, and ready on all occasions to teach their general his duty, he sharply reprov'd them, and commanded them not to intermeddle with what was not their concern, but only to take care that they and their arms were in readiness, and to use their swords like Romans when their commanders should think fit to employ them. Further, he ordered that the centinels by night should watch without their javelins \*, that thus they might be more careful and able to resist sleep, having nothing proper to withstand the assaults of their enemies.

That which most infested the army, was the want of water ; for only a little, and that foul, flowed out, or rather came by drops from some springs near the sea. But Æmilius considering that he was at the foot of the high and woody mountain Olympus, and conjecturing by the flourishing of the trees, that there were springs that had their course under ground, dug a great many holes and

\* Livy says without their buckler, and gives us this reason for the order ; that when they held their buckler right before them, resting upon their pike, and reclined their heads upon the buckler, they might sleep standing. Livy adds, that on this occasion Æmilius introduced the custom of relieving the guard ; till then they were upon duty all day ; but he ordered that they who came on in the morning should be relieved at noon.

wells in the side of the mountain, which were presently filled with clear water, which burst into these openings with the more force, as it had till then been under pressure and confinement. Some indeed deny that there are any sources of water ready provided and concealed in the places from whence they flow, and assert that a stream when it issues out of the earth, is then immediately formed by the condensation of vapours, and that, by the coldness and pressure of the earth, a moist vapour is rendered fluid. For as womens breasts are not like vessels full of milk always prepared and ready to flow from them; but the nourishment in their breasts is changed into milk, and strained from thence; in like manner the places of the earth that are cold and stored with fountains, do not contain any hidden receptacles of water which are capable, as from a source always ready and full, to supply so many brooks, and great rivers; but by pressing and condensing the vapours and air, they turn them into that substance. For which reason those places that are opened afford more plenty of water, (as the breasts of women do milk from their being sucked), by compressing and liquefying the vapour; whereas the earth that remains idle and undug, is not capable of producing any water, because it wants that motion which is the true cause of it. But those who assert this opinion, give occasion to the sceptical to argue, that for the same reason there should be no blood in living creatures, but that it must be formed by a wound, some sort of spirit or flesh being changed into fluid matter. Besides, this opinion is refuted by such, who digging deep in the earth to undermine some fortification, or to search for metals, meet with rivers, which are not collected by little and little, (which must necessarily be, if they were produced at the very instant the earth was opened), but break out at once with violence. And upon the cutting through a rock, there often



gushes out a great quantity of water, which as suddenly ceases. But of this enough.

Æmilius lay still for some days; and it is said, that there were never two great armies so nigh, that enjoyed so much quiet. When he had tried and considered all things, and was informed that there was yet one passage left unguarded through Perrhæbia\*, by Pythium and Petra, he hoped more from the condition of the place, which was left defenceless, than he feared from the roughness and difficulty of the passage, and ordered the matter to be considered in council. Amongst those that were present at the council, Scipio, surnamed *Nasica*, son-in-law to Scipio Africanus, who afterwards bore such great sway in the senate-house, stood up first, and offered to command those who should be sent to encompass the enemy. Then Fabius Maximus, eldest son of Æmilius, although yet very young, ardently requested to be employed in this enterprise. Æmilius rejoicing at this noble emulation in his son, appointed them a detachment not so large as Polybius relates, but consisting of as many as Nasica himself tells us he took with him, in that short epistle he wrote to a certain king concerning this expedition. For he had 3000 Italians that were not Romans, and his left wing consisted of 5000; to these Scipio joined 120 horsemen, and 200 Thracians and Cretans intermixed, who had been sent by Harpalus. With this detachment he began his march towards the sea, and encamped near Heracleum, as if he designed to embark †, and so to sail round and environ the enemy. But when the

\* Livy tells us quite the contrary; he says the pass was easy enough, but that a guard was stationed in it.

† Plutarch ought not to have omitted in this place, that Æmilius had ordered Octavius the prætor to sail with a fleet to Heracleum, on purpose to make Perseus believe his design was to ravage the maritime coasts, thereby to oblige him to decamp; for otherwise how could Scipio pretend to embark?

foldiers had supped, and it was dark, he made the captains acquainted with his real intentions, and marching all night a quite contrary way to that of the sea, till he came to Pythium, he there rested his army. In this place mount Olympus stretches itself in height more than ten furlongs, as appears by this epigram made by him that measured it.

*Olympus' top, where stands the Pythian fane,  
More than ten furlongs rises from the plain.  
The height Eumelus' son Xenag'ras took ;  
Regard him, Phælus, with a gracious look.*

Geometricians indeed affirm, that no mountain in height, or sea in depth, exceeds ten furlongs ; yet it seems probable that Xenagoras did not take the measure carelessly, but according to the rules of art, and with instruments fit for that purpose. Here it was that Nasica passed the night.

A Cretan deserter who fled to the enemy in the march, discovered to Perseus the design which the Romans had to encompass him ; who seeing Æmilius remain quiet with his army, mistrusted no such attempt. He was startled at the news ; however he did not remove his camp, but sent 10,000 foreign mercenaries, and 2000 Macedonians, under the command of Milo, ordering them to march with all diligence, and possess themselves of the straits. Polybius relates, that the Romans set upon them whilst they were asleep ; but Nasica says that there was a sharp and dangerous conflict on the top of the mountain ; that he himself encountered a mercenary Thracian, pierced him through with his dart, and slew him ; and that the enemy being forced to retreat, and Milo stript to his coat shamefully flying without his armour, he followed without danger, and all the army marched down into the country.

Perseus, quite dispirited at this overthrow, re-

moved his camp in haste, and retired in great terror. However it was necessary for him either to stop before Pydne, and there run the hazard of a battle, or disperse his army into cities, and there expect the enemy, who being once entered into his country, could not be driven out without great slaughter and bloodshed. But it being represented to him by his friends that he was much superior in number, and that his troops, who were to fight in defence of their wives and children, would exert the utmost resolution, especially when their king was a witness of their behaviour and a partner in their danger; this representation gave him new courage; so that, pitching his camp, he prepared to fight, viewed the country, and gave his commands, as if he designed to set upon the Romans as soon as they approached. In the place where he encamped there was a field, proper for the drawing up a phalanx, which required a plain valley and even ground; there were also divers little hills joined together, which served for a retreat to the light-armed soldiers, and gave them opportunities to encompass the enemy; through the middle ran the rivers Æson and Leucus, which though not very deep, it being the latter end of summer, yet were likely to give the Romans some trouble.

As soon as Æmilius had joined Nasica, he advanced in order of battle against the enemy; but when he saw the number and disposition of their forces, he was astonished, and stood still, considering with himself what was proper to be done. But the young officers being eager to fight pressed him earnestly not to delay, and most of all Nasica, who was flushed with his late success on Olympus. Æmilius answered with a smile: *I should be as eager as you, were I of your age; but my many victories have taught me the miscarriages of the conquered, and forbid me to engage such as are weary with their long march,*



*march, against an army so well drawn up and prepared for battle.*

Then he gave command, that the front of his army, and such as were in sight of the enemy, should draw up in order of battle, as if they were ready to engage, and those in the rear should cast up the trenches, and fortify the camp; then the foremost of his men wheeling off by degrees, their whole order was insensibly changed, and all his army encamped without noise.

When it was night, and no man after his supper thought of any thing but sleep and rest, all on a sudden the moon, which was then at full, and very high, began to be darkened, and after changing into various colours, was at length totally eclipsed. The Romans, according to their custom, with the noise of brass pans, and lifting up a great many firebrands and torches, endeavoured to recover her light: whilst the Macedonians behaved themselves far otherwise; for horror and amazement seized their whole army, and a rumour crept by degrees into their camp, that this eclipse portended the downfall of their king \*. Æmilius was no novice in these things, but very well understood the seeming irregularities of eclipses, and that in a certain revolution of time, the moon in her course was obscured and hid by the shadow of the earth, till passing that region of darkness she became again enlightened by the sun; yet being very devout, a religious observer of sacrifices, and well skilled in the art of divination, as soon as he perceived the moon had regained her former lustre, he offered up to her eleven heifers. At the break of day he sacrificed to Hercules, and had offered up twenty oxen before he received any token that his offering was accepted; but at the

\* Livy says that this eclipse was foretold by a tribune of the soldiers called *Caius Sulpitius Gallus* the night before, and that upon the accomplishment of his prediction the Roman soldiers thought him something more than man. *Romanis militibus Galli sapientia prope divina videri.*

one and twentieth the signs promised victory to such as fought only to defend themselves. Then he vowed a hecatomb and solemn sports to Hercules, and commanded his officers to make ready for battle, staying only till the sun should decline, and come about to the west, lest being in their faces in the morning it should dazzle the eyes of his soldiers. In the mean time he waited in his tent, which was open towards the valley where the enemies were encamped. When it grew towards evening, some tell us Æmilius himself laid the following design, that the enemy might first begin the fight: he turned loose a horse without a bridle, and sent some of the Romans to catch him, upon whose following the beast, the battle begun. Others relate, that the Thracians, under the command of one Alexander, set upon the Roman carriages that brought forage to the camp; that to oppose these a party of 700 Ligurians were immediately detached, and that relief coming still from both armies, the main bodies were at last engaged. Æmilius, like a wise pilot, foreseeing, by the present agitation of the armies, the greatness of the impending storm, came out of his tent, went through the legions, and encouraged his soldiers. Nasica in the mean time, who was advanced to the place where the skirmish began, saw the whole force of the enemy preparing to engage. First marched the Thracians, who, he himself tells us, were very terrible to behold; for they were men of great stature, their shields were bright and glittering, their vests were black, their legs were armed with greaves, and as they moved, their weighty long spears shook on their shoulders. Next the Thracians, marched the mercenary soldiers, armed after the different fashions of their countries, and with these the Pæonians were mingled. These were followed by a third body of the Macedonians, all chosen men, of known courage, and all in the prime of their age, shining in their  
gilt

gilt armour, and new purple vests. Behind these the squadrons of the Chalcaspides advanced from the camp; the whole plain glittered with the brightness of their arms and brazen shields, and the mountains rang with their shouts, by which they animated each other. In this order they marched, and that with such boldness and speed, that those that were first slain, fell within two furlongs distance from the Roman camp. The battle being begun, Æmilius came in, and found that the foremost of the Macedonians had already struck the end of their spears into the shields of the Romans, so that it was impossible to come near them with their swords. But when the rest of the Macedonians took the shields that hung on their backs, and brought them before them, and all at once levelled their pikes against their enemies bucklers; the great strength of their united targets, and the dreadful appearance of a front so armed, struck him with amazement and fear, he having never seen any thing more terrible; and he would often afterwards speak of the impression which that fight made upon him. This however he then dissembled, and rode through his army without either breast-plate or helmet, with a pleasant and cheerful countenance.

On the contrary, no sooner was the battle begun, but the Macedonian king (as Polybius relates) basely withdrew to the city of Pydne, under a pretence of sacrificing to Hercules; a god who is not wont to regard the despicable offerings of cowards, or grant such requests as are unjust; it not being reasonable, that he who never shoots, should carry away the prize, that he should triumph who shuns the battle, that the indolent should be successful, or the wicked prosperous. But to Æmilius's petition the god listened; for he prayed for victory with his sword in his hand, and was fighting at the same time that he implored the divine assistance.

But



But a certain author called *Posidonius*\*, who wrote the history of Perseus, and tells us he lived at that time, and was himself in this battle, denies that he left the field either through fear or pretence of sacrificing, but that the very day before the fight he received a kick from a horse on his leg; that though very much indisposed, and dissuaded by all his friends, he commanded one of his horses to be brought, and entered the field unarmed; that amongst an infinite number of darts that flew about on all sides, one of iron-lighted on him, and though not with the point, yet by a glance hit him with such force on his left side, that it rent his cloaths, and so bruised his flesh, that the mark remained a long time after. This is what *Posidonius* says in defence of Perseus.

The Romans not being able to make a breach in the phalanx, one *Salius* a commander of the *Pelignians* snatched the ensign of his company, and threw it amongst the enemies; which as soon as the *Pelignians* perceived, (for the *Italians* esteem it base and dishonourable to abandon their standard), they rushed with great violence towards that place, and the conflict was very fierce, and the slaughter terrible on both sides. For the *Pelignians* endeavoured to cut the spears asunder with their swords, or to beat them back with their shields, or put them by with their hands; on the other side, the *Macedonians* held their pikes in both hands, and pierced through those that came in their way, no shield or corselet being able to resist the force of their spears. The *Pelignians* and *Marrucinians* were thrown

\* This could not be *Posidonius* of *Apamea*, the philosopher and historian, who wrote a continuation of *Polybius's* history; for that *Posidonius* went to Rome during the consulship of *Marcellus*, 118 years after this battle. It must certainly be some counterfeit writer, who ignorant in chronology took upon him the name of *Posidonius*. *Plutarch* seems to suspect him, when he says, *Posidonius, who tells us he lived at that time.*

headlong

headlong to the ground, who against all reason, and with a brutal fury, had run upon unavoidable dangers, and certain death. Their first ranks being slain, those that were behind were forced to give back; it cannot be said they fled, but they retreated towards Mount Olocrus. When Æmilius saw this, (as Posidonius relates), he rent his cloaths; for some of his men were ready to fly, and the rest were not willing to engage with a phalanx, which seemed altogether impenetrable, and as secure as if entrenched, whilst guarded with such great numbers of pikes, which on all sides threatened the assailers. But at length, as the unevenness of the ground, and the large extent of the enemies front made it impossible for them to preserve that hedge or rampart of shields and pikes every where entire and unbroken, Æmilius perceived a great many interstices and breaches in the Macedonian phalanx; as it usually happens in all great armies, according to the different efforts of the combatants, whilst in one part they press forward with eagerness, and in another are forced to give back. Wherefore with all speed he divided his men into small companies, and ordered them to fall into the intervals, and void places of the enemies body, and to make their attack not all together in any one place, but to engage in separate parties, and attack them in several places at the same time. These commands Æmilius gave to his captains, and they to their soldiers; who had no sooner entered the spaces, and separated their enemies, but some charged them in flank, where they were naked and exposed, others fetching a compass, set on them in the rear; so that in a moment this terrible phalanx, whose whole force consisted in its union, and the impression it made when closely joined together, was dissolved and broken. And when they came to fight hand to hand, the Macedonians smote in vain upon the large solid shields of the Romans with their little swords; whilst

whilst their slight shields were not able to sustain the weight and force of the Roman swords, which pierced through all their armour to their bodies, so that they with difficulty maintained their ground, and were at length entirely routed.

It was here the greatest efforts were made on both sides. Marcus the son of Cato, and son-in-law of Æmilius, after having given many proofs of a most undaunted courage and resolution, unhappily lost his sword, which dropt out of his hand as he was fighting. As he was a youth, who had acquired all the advantages of a generous education, as he was the son of so illustrious a father, to whom he thought himself answerable for all his actions, and was persuaded that he had better die than suffer such a spoil to remain in the hands of his enemies, he flew through all the ranks, and where-ever he met with a friend or companion, he acquainted him with his misfortune, and implored his assistance. In a moment he found himself surrounded with a troop of the most hardy and determined, who followed their leader, and fell with a desperate bravery upon the Macedonians, whom after a sharp conflict, many wounds, and much slaughter, they repulsed, possessed the place that was now deserted and free, and set themselves to search for the sword, which at last they found covered with a great heap of arms and dead carcases. Transported and exulting with this success, they with more eagerness than ever charged the foes, that yet remained firm and unbroken. At last three thousand of the chosen men, who kept their stations, and fought valiantly to the last, were all cut in pieces, and very great was the slaughter of such as fled, insomuch that the plains and the hills were filled with dead bodies, and the water of the river Leucus, which the Romans did not pass till the next day after the battle, was then mingled with blood; for it is said, there fell more than twenty-five thousand of the enemy; of the Romans,



as Posidonius relates, an hundred; as Nafica, only fourscore. This battle, though so great, was very quickly decided, it being the ninth hour \* when they first engaged, and the enemy being routed before the tenth. The rest of the day was spent in the pursuit of such as fled, whom they followed a hundred and twenty furlongs, so that it was far in the night when they returned.

All the rest were met by their servants with torches, and brought back with joy and great triumph to their tents, which were set out with lights, and decked with wreaths of ivy and laurel †. But the general himself was overwhelmed with grief: for of the two sons that served under him in the war, the youngest was missing, whom he chiefly loved, and who was more happily formed for virtue than any of his brethren; as he was full of courage, and ambitious of honour, but withal unexperienced by reason of his youth ‡, he concluded he was lost by inconsiderately engaging too far amongst his enemies in the heat of action. The whole army were soon informed of his dejection and sorrow, and quitting their suppers, ran about with lights, some to Æmilius's tent, some out of the trenches to seek him amongst such as were slain in the first onset. There was nothing but grief in the camp, and the valley was filled with the cries of such as called out for Scipio; for he was admired and beloved by all; his disposition being so admirably tempered, that from his early youth he seemed beyond any of his equals formed to excel in the arts both of war and of civil government. At length, when it was late, and they almost despaired of him, he returned from

\* *i. e.* Three in the afternoon.

† This was a custom among the Romans. Cæsar in his third book of the civil wars, says that in Pompey's camp he found the tents of Lentulus and some others covered with ivy. *L. etiam Lentuli, et nonnullorum tabernacula proteeta edera.*

‡ Livy says that he was then in his seventeenth year.

the pursuit, with only two or three of his companions, all covered with the fresh blood of his enemies, having, like a hound keen for the sport, followed the chase with too eager a pleasure. This was that Scipio, who afterwards destroyed Carthage and Numantium; he was without dispute the valiantest of the Romans, and had the greatest authority amongst them. Thus fortune deferring the execution of her vengeance for this success to some other time, suffered Æmilius at present to enjoy this victory with full satisfaction.

As for Perseus, he fled from Pydne to Pella, with his cavalry which remained almost entire. But when the foot overtook them, they upbraided them as cowards and traitors, threw them off their horses, and even wounded many of them. Perseus fearing the consequences of the tumult, forsook the common road, and lest he should be known, pulled off his purple robe, and carried it before him; he took his diadem in his hand; and that he might the better converse with his friends, alighted from his horse and led him. Most of his attendants left him by degrees, one pretending to tie his shoe that was loose, another to water his horse, a third to drink himself; this was not so much from fear of their enemies, as of his cruelty; for he was grown wild at this misfortune, and endeavoured to clear himself by laying the blame upon others. He arrived at Pella in the night, where Euctus and Eudæus, two of his treasurers, came to him, and by their reflecting on his former miscarriages, and their free and unseasonable admonitions upon the present situation of his affairs, so exasperated him, that he killed them both with his dagger. After this nobody stuck to him but Evander the Cretan, Archedamus the Ætolian, and Neo the Bœotian: and of the common soldiers there followed him only those from Crete, and they not out of any good-will to his person, but for the sake of his riches,

riches, to which they stuck as close as bees to their honey. For he carried an immense treasure about with him, out of which he suffered them to take cups, bowls, and other vessels of silver and gold, to the value of fifty talents \*. But when he was come to Amphipolis, and afterwards to Galepsus, and his fears were a little abated, he relapsed into his old and natural disease of covetousness, and bewailed to his friends that he had through inadvertency distributed the gold plate belonging to Alexander the Great, amongst the Cretans, and besought those that had it, with tears in his eyes, to exchange it with him again for money. Those who understood him thoroughly, knew very well he only played the Cretan with the Cretans †; but they that believed him, and restored what they had, were cheated; for he not only did not pay the money, but by craft got thirty talents more of his friends into his hands, (which in a short time after fell to the enemy), and sailing into Samothracia, fled to the temple of Castor and Pollux for refuge.

The Macedonians were always accounted great lovers of their kings; but now, as if the chief pillar of their constitution was broken, and the whole dissolved, they submitted to Æmilius, and in two-days time made him master of their whole country. This seems to confirm their opinion who ascribe all his great actions to good fortune; and a further proof of it is the omen that happened at Amphipolis; where, as Æmilius was going to offer sacrifice, and the rites were begun, a flash of lightning fell on the altar, set the sacrifice on fire, and consecrated it. But

\* Livy says he suffered them to plunder it, because if he had made a distribution of it among them, it would not have raised him so many friends as enemies. *Cretenses spem pecuniæ secuti, et quoniam in dividendo plus offensionum quam gratiæ erat, quinquaginta talenta iis posita sunt in ripa diripienda.* xliv. 45. This happened on the banks of the Strymon, in Perseus's flight from Amphipolis to Galepsus.

† It was an ancient proverb, *The Cretans are always liars*, as may be seen in Callimachus.



the share fame had in this affair is next to a miracle, and far exceeds all they tell us of his good fortune, and the favour of the gods towards him. For the fourth day after Perseus was vanquished at Pydne, whilst the people were assembled to see the horse-races in the circus, there suddenly arose a report in the upper part of the theatre, that Æmilius had overcome Perseus, and reduced all Macedonia. This report was immediately spread among the people, and caused an universal joy; and shouts and acclamations filled the city all that day: but when no certain author of the news could be found, and every one appeared to have had it from hearsay, the story was dropt for the present, and vanished; till in a few days it was confirmed \*, and then the former intelligence was looked upon as miraculous, which by a fiction had told the real truth. It is reported also that the news of a battle that was fought in Italy, near the river Sagra, was carried into Peloponnesus the same day; and of that near Mycale, against the Medes, to Platææ. When the Romans had defeated the Tarquins who were combined with the Latins, there appeared immediately after at Rome, two men of great stature and a graceful aspect, who themselves brought the news from the camp. The first man † that spoke to them in the market-place near the fountain, where they were refreshing their horses, which were foaming with sweat, much wondered at the report of the victory, when, it is said, they both smiled and gently stroked his beard with their hands, the hairs of which from being black, instantly turned yellow. This circumstance gave credit to what they said, and fixed the name of *Ænobarbus* or *yellow beard* on

\* It was confirmed by the arrival of Fabius Maximus the son of Æmilius, L. Lentulus, and Q. Metellus, who had been sent express by Æmilius, and reached Rome the twentieth day after the action.

† His name was *Lucius Domitius*; from his family Nero the emperor was descended.

the man. But that which happened in our own time, will make all these credible: for when Lucius Antonius \* rebelled against Domitian, and Rome was in a consternation, expecting to see all Germany up in arms, the people on a sudden spread abroad a rumour of the victory †, and the news ran through the city, that Antonius himself was slain, his whole army destroyed, and that not so much as one man had escaped; nay, this report was so firmly believed, that many of the magistrates offered up sacrifices. But when at length the author of it was sought, and could not be found, it vanished by degrees; for every one shifted it off from himself to another, and at last it was lost in the numberless croud, as in a vast ocean; and having no solid ground to support its credit, was in a short time not so much as named in the city. Nevertheless when Domitian marched out with his forces to the war, he met with messengers and letters, that gave him an account of the victory; and it appeared that the fame of this conquest came the very day it was gained, though the distance of the places was more than two thousand five hundred miles. The truth of this no man amongst us can be ignorant of.

But to proceed: Cneius Octavius, who was joined in command with Æmilius, came with his fleet to Samothrace, where, out of reverence to the gods, he permitted Perseus to enjoy the protection of the temple, but took care that he should not escape by sea. Notwithstanding this, Perseus secretly practised with Oroandes of Crete, who was master of a bark, and who promised to convey him

\* This L. Antonius was governor of the upper Germany.

† Suetonius in the life of Domitian, chap. vi. relates an incident which might very well give occasion to that report; for he says that the day on which the battle was fought, an eagle was seen at Rome, embracing, as it were, with its wings the statue of Domitian, and uttering such sounds as seemed tokens of joy. This was enough to possess the people with a firm belief of the defeat and death of Antonius.

and his treasure away. He, like a true Cretan, took in the treasure, and advised him to come in the night with his wife, children, and necessary attendants, to the port called *Demetrium*; but as soon as it grew dark, he set sail without him. The hour appointed being come, Perseus with infinite pains and difficulty crept through a strait window, and let himself down the wall with his wife and children, who were little used to such fatigue. But when a person who met him wandering on the shore, told him he had seen Oroandes put out to sea, (for the day then began to dawn), the disconsolate prince fetched a doleful sigh, and being now bereft of all hope fled back towards the wall, not in a clandestine manner as before, for he saw he was discovered, but endeavouring with all his might to get thither if possible with his wife, before the Romans could overtake them. He had committed his children to Ion of Thessalonica, who had been his favourite, but betrayed him now in his adversity, for he delivered them up to Octavius; so that, as beasts do when their young are taken, he was compelled to yield himself to those who had his children in their power. His greatest confidence was in Nafica; he therefore inquired for him, but he not being there, Perseus bewailed his misfortune, and seeing there was no possible remedy, surrendered himself to Octavius. He showed on this occasion, that he was possessed with a vice more sordid than covetousness itself, fondness for life; by which he deprived himself even of pity, the only thing that fortune never takes away from the most wretched. For being at his own request brought to Æmilius\*, the

\* Plutarch\* seems here to be too concise in his narration; for he speaks as if Æmilius himself was at that time in Samothracia. Octavius put Perseus on board the admiral galley, with all the wealth that still remained to that unfortunate prince, carried him back to Amphipolis, and from thence sent him to Æmilius's camp, having by letter first advised that general that he was coming. Æmilius sent



the consul arose from his seat, and accompanied with his friends, went to receive him with tears in his eyes, as a great man fallen by the special appointment of the gods, and his own ill fortune; whilst Perseus, which was the most scandalous of fights, threw himself at his feet, embraced his knees, and uttered such unmanly cries and petitions, as Æmilius was not able to bear, or would vouchsafe to hear; but looking on him with a countenance of sorrow and indignation, *What!* says he, *miserable as thou art, dost thou thus acquit fortune, of what might seem her greatest crime? For by these actions thou showest that thou art worthy of thy calamity, and that it is not thy present condition, but former happiness, that was more than thy deserts. Why dost thou thus disgrace my victory, and make my conquest little, by proving thyself a coward, and a foe below a Roman? The most unhappy valour challenges a great respect, even from enemies; but cowardice, even though so successful, from the Romans always meets with scorn.* Nevertheless he raised him up, gave him his hand, and delivered him into the custody of Tubero.

After this, he carried his sons, his sons-in-law, and others of the principal officers, especially those of the younger sort, back with him into his tent, where for a long time he sat still without speaking a word, insomuch that they all wondered at him. At last, he began to discourse of fortune and human affairs. *Is it reasonable,* says he, *for a man to be elated in prosperity, and grow arrogant upon having conquered nations, taken cities, and subdued kingdoms, when fortune herself, by such visible marks of her instability, and the melancholy instances of human frailty, so plainly teaches him that he is to expect from her nothing*

Tubero his son-in-law to meet him. Perseus in a mourning habit entered the camp with his son Philip. Æmilius when he was in sight rose from his seat, and stretched his hand out to him; Perseus threw himself at his feet, but the consul raised him from the ground, and would not suffer him to embrace his knees,

solid and permanent! In what season of life can a man think himself secure, when in the very instant of victory he is forced to dread the almighty power of fortune, and in the height of success must be filled with distrust and anxiety, if he reflects on the immutable decrees of fate, which spares none, but humbles one man to-day, and to-morrow another? When a moment of time has been sufficient to overthrow the house of Alexander, which had exalted itself to the highest pitch of power, and reduced so great a part of the world into subjection; when we behold her princes, who so lately were at the head of a formidable army composed of so many thousands, now receiving their daily food from the hands of their enemies; shall we, who behold this, presume to flatter ourselves that our prosperity is settled upon a solid foundation, and is proof against the attacks of time and fortune? Suppress therefore that pride and insalence which victory inspires; and looking forward to futurity, be prepared for whatever misfortunes may happen to counterbalance this day's success. Æmilius having spoke much more to the same purpose, dismissed the young men, seasonably chastised by this grave discourse, which like a bridle had curbed their arrogance and vain-glory.

When this was done, he sent his army into quarters of refreshment\*, while he went to visit Greece; where he spent his time both with great honour to himself, and advantage to the Grecians. For as he passed through the cities, he eased the people's grievances, reformed their government, and bestowed gifts upon them; to some corn, to others oil, out of the king's storehouses, in which (they report) there were such vast quantities laid up, that the number of those who received and wanted it was too small to exhaust the whole. In Delphi he found a great square pillar of white mar-

\* He first sent his son Fabius Maximus, who was returned from Rome, and L. Posthumus, each with separate parties, to reduce some places that held out, and at his departure left the command of the camp with Sulpitius Galba.

ble, designed for the pedestal of a golden statue of Perseus, on which he commanded his own to be placed; alleging, that it was but just, that the conquered should give place to the conqueror. In Olympia, he is said to have uttered that so celebrated speech, *This Jupiter of Phidias is the very Jupiter of Homer* \*. When the ten commissioners for settling the affairs of Macedonia arrived from Rome, he delivered up again to the Macedonians their cities and country, permitting them to live at liberty, and according to their own laws, and only required of them the tribute of a hundred talents to the Romans; whereas, they were wont to pay more than double that sum to their kings. Then he celebrated all manner of shows and games, and sacrifices to the gods, and made great entertainments and feasts; the charge of all which he liberally defrayed out of the king's treasury; and he showed that he understood the ordering and placing of his guests, and how every man should be received according to his rank and quality, with such exactness, that the Greeks were surpris'd to find him so expert and careful even about trifles, and that a man engaged in so many weighty affairs, should be solicitous to observe a decorum in such little matters. That which gave him the greatest satisfaction was, that, amidst such magnificent and splendid preparations, he himself was always the most pleasing sight to those he entertained. And he told them who seem'd to wonder at his diligence, *That the same kind of talents were requir'd in the disposition of a banquet and of an army, to render the one most dreadful to*

\* Livy mentions this circumstance in the following manner. *Olympiam ascendit, ubi & alia quædam spectanda visa, & Jovem, velut præsentem intuens, motus animo est.* "He went up to Olympia, where he saw many things worth seeing; but upon beholding the statue of Jupiter, he was struck with awe as if the god himself had been present." This statue was of ivory, and of so prodigious a size, that though it was carved sitting and placed in a very lofty temple, yet it almost touch'd the ceiling.



*the enemy, the other most acceptable to the guests.* Nor did men less praise his liberality and disinterestedness, than his other virtues; for he would not so much as see those great quantities of silver and gold, which were collected out of the king's palaces, but delivered them to the questors, to be put into the public treasury. He only permitted his own sons, who were great lovers of learning, to take the king's books; and when he distributed such rewards as were due to extraordinary valour, he gave his son-in-law Ælius Tubero, only a bowl that weighed five pounds. This is that Tubero we have already mentioned, who was one of the sixteen relations that lived together, and were all maintained out of one little farm. It is said, that this was the first silver vessel that ever entered the house of the Ælians, and this was brought thither, as a reward of virtue; for before this time, neither they nor their wives would ever make use either of silver or gold.

After he had made every proper regulation, taken his leave of the Grecians, and exhorted the Macedonians to be mindful of that liberty they had received from the Romans, and endeavour to maintain it, by their obedience to the laws, and by concord amongst themselves, he departed for Æpire; for he had orders from the senate, to give the soldiers that followed him in the war against Perseus, the pillage of the cities of that country \*. Wherefore, that he might surprise and set upon them all at once, he summoned ten of the principal men out of every city, whom he commanded, on an appointed day, to bring all the gold and silver they had either in their private houses or temples; and with every one of these, as if it were for this very purpose, and under a pretence of searching for and receiving the gold, he sent a centurion, and a guard of sol-

\* They had revolted from the Romans, and joined with Perseus.  
diers,

diers, who, the set day being come, rose all at once, and began to plunder and seize the inhabitants; so that, in the space of one hour, 150,000 persons were made slaves, and seventy cities sacked. Yet what was given to each soldier, out of the pillage after so vast a destruction and utter ruin, amounted to no more than eleven drachms; so that all men were shocked at the issue of that war, when the wealth of a whole nation thus divided, turned to so little advantage to each particular man.

When Æmilius had executed this order so contrary to his natural mildness and humanity, he went down to Oricum, where he embarked his army, and passed over into Italy. He sailed up the river Tiber in the king's galley, which had sixteen ranks of oars, and was richly adorned with the armour of the prisoners, and with cloaths of purple and scarlet; so that the vessels moving slowly against the stream, the Romans that crowded on the shore to meet him, had a taste of his following triumph. But the soldiers who had cast a covetous eye on the treasures of Perseus, when they could not obtain what they thought they so well deserved, were not only secretly enraged at Æmilius for it, but openly complained, that he had been a severe and tyrannical commander over them; nor were they so desirous of a triumph as might have been expected. When this was known to Servius Galba, who was Æmilius's enemy, though he had commanded as a military tribune under him, he had the boldness to declare openly, that a triumph was not to be allowed him. He sowed divers calumnies among the soldiers, which yet further increased their ill-will towards Æmilius; and he desired the tribunes of the people, because the four hours that were remaining of the day could not suffice for the accusation, that they would put it off to another time. But when the tribunes commanded him to speak then, if he had any thing to say, he began a long oration, filled

ed with all manner of reproaches, in which he spent the remaining part of the day; and the tribunes, when it was dark, dismissed the assembly. The soldiers growing more vehement by this, all thronged about Galba, and entering into a conspiracy, early in the morning again beset the capitol, where the tribunes had appointed the following assembly to be held. As soon as it was day, it was put to the vote, and the first tribe refused to grant the triumph. When this was understood by the rest of the assembly and the senate, the common people declared themselves very much grieved, that Æmilius should meet with such ignominy; but their words had no effect. The chief of the senate exclaimed against it as a scandalous action; and excited one another to repress the boldness and insolence of the soldiers, who, if not opposed in their attempt to deprive Æmilius of a triumph, would in a while become quite ungovernable. Wherefore pressing through the croud, they came up in a body, and desired the tribunes to defer polling, till they had delivered what they had to say to the people. All things being thus suspended, and silence being obtained, Marcus Servilius stood up, a man of consular dignity, and who had killed twenty-three enemies in single combat. *I am now, said he, convinced more than ever, that Paulus Æmilius is an able general, since he has performed such great exploits, with an army so full of sedition and licentiousness; but I can never enough admire how a people that seemed to glory in the triumphs over the Illyrians and Ligurians, can now through envy refuse to see the Macedonian king led captive, and all the glory of Philip and Alexander subdued by the Roman power. For is it not a strange thing for you, who, upon a slight rumour of victory that came by chance into the city, offered sacrifices, and put up your requests to the gods that you might see the report verified, now, when the general is returned with an undoubted conquest, to defraud the gods of the honour, and yourselves of the joy, as if you were afraid to see how great*



great the conquest is, or were willing to spare the king that disgrace? And indeed of the two, it were much better to put a stop to the triumph, out of pity to him, than out of envy to your general. But so great is the malignity and insolence of some amongst you, that he who has never received a wound, and whose body is sleek and delicate with ease and indulgence, dares to talk of generals and triumphs before you, who have learned from your wounds to judge of the valour or the cowardice of your commanders. At the same time putting aside his garment, he showed an incredible number of scars upon his breast, and in turning about happened to discover those parts which are not decent to be exposed. Then applying himself to Galba, who fell a-laughing when he saw them swelled, *Thou, says he, deridest me for these swellings, in which I glory before my fellow-citizens, for it is in their service, in which I rode incessantly night and day, that I received them; but go on to collect the votes, whilst I follow after, and note the base and ungrateful, and such as chuse rather to obey the rabble in war, than to be commanded by their general.* It is said, this speech so stopped the soldiers mouths, and altered their minds, that all the tribes decreed a triumph for Æmilius; which was performed after this manner.

The people erected scaffolds in the forum, in the theatres where the horse-races were usually performed, (which they call *circus's*), and in all other parts of the city, where they could best behold the procession. The spectators were clad in white garments, all the temples were open, and full of garlands and perfumes, and the ways were cleared by a great many officers who removed such as thronged the passages, or straggled up and down. This triumph lasted three days. On the first, which was scarce long enough for the fight, were exhibited to view the images, pictures, and colossean statues, which were taken from the enemy, drawn upon 250 chariots. On the second, was

carried

carried in a great number of waggons the richest and most beautiful armour of the Macedonians both of brass and steel, all bright and newly polished; which although piled up with the greatest art and order, yet seemed to be tumbled on heaps carelessly and by chance; helmets were thrown upon shields, coats of mail upon greaves, Cretan targets, Thracian bucklers, and quivers of arrows, lay huddled amongst the horses bits, and through these there appeared the points of naked swords, intermixed with long spears. All these arms were tied together with such a just liberty, that they knocked against one another as they were drawn along, and made a harsh and terrible noise, so that the very spoils of the conquered could not be beheld without dread. After these waggons loaden with armour, there followed 3000 men, who carried the silver that was coined, in 750 vessels, each of which contained the weight of three talents, and was borne by four men. Others brought silver bowls, and goblets, and cups, all disposed in such order as to make the best show, and all valuable, as well for their size as the thickness of their engraved work. On the third day early in the morning, first came the trumpeters, who did not sound such airs as they were wont in a procession or solemn entry, but such as the Romans use when they encourage their soldiers to fight. Next followed 120 stalled oxen, with their horns gilded, and their heads adorned with ribands and garlands; the young men who led them to the sacrifice were girt with rich belts of curious workmanship; and they were followed by boys who carried the sacrificing vessels of silver and gold. After this was brought the gold coin, which was divided into vessels that contained three talents, like those which contained the silver; they were in number seventy-seven\*. These were followed

\* According to Plutarch's account there were 2250 talents of silver coin,

ed by those who brought the consecrated bowl, which Æmilius had caused to be made, and which weighed ten talents, and was set with precious stones. Then were exposed to view the cups of Antigonus and Seleucus, and such as were made after the fashion invented by Hercules, and all the gold plate that was used at Perseus's table. Next to these came Perseus's chariot, in which his armour was placed, and on that his diadem. And after a little intermission, the king's children were led captives, and with them a train of nurses, masters, and governors, who all wept and stretched forth their hands to the spectators, and taught the children to implore their compassion. There were two sons and a daughter, who by reason of their tender age were altogether insensible of the greatness of their misery, which insensibility of their condition rendered it much more deplorable; insomuch that Perseus himself was scarce regarded as he went along, whilst pity had fixed the eyes of the Romans upon the infants, and many of them could not forbear tears; all beheld the sight with a mixture of sorrow and joy, until the children were past. After his children and their attendants, came Perseus himself, clad all in black, and wearing slippers after the fashion of his country: he looked like one altogether astonished and deprived of reason, through the greatness of his misfortunes. Next followed a great many of his friends, and favourites, whose countenances were disfigured with grief, and who testified to all that beheld them, by fixing their weeping eyes continually on Perseus, that it was his hard fortune they so much lamented, and that they were regardless of their own. Perseus had sent to Æmi-

coin, and 231 of gold coin; and as gold was then only ten times the value of silver, the whole sum was less than 900,000 l. According to Valerius Antias it amounted to somewhat more; but Livy thinks his computation too small; and Velleius Paterculus makes it almost twice as much.



lius, to entreat that he might not be led in triumph and exposed as a public spectacle; Æmilius, in derision of his cowardice and fondness for life, sent him this answer, *What he asks of me was before and is now in his own power*; giving him to understand, that this disgrace was to be prevented by killing himself; but this he had not the courage to do, for by indulging vain empty hopes he had destroyed all the vigour and resolution of his mind, and so became a part of his own spoils. After these were carried 400 golden crowns, which had been sent from various cities by their ambassadors to Æmilius, as a reward due to his valour. Then came Æmilius himself in a chariot magnificently adorned, (a man worthy to be beheld and admired, even without this additional pomp and splendour). He was clad in a garment of purple interwoven with gold, and held out a laurel branch in his right hand. All the army in like manner with boughs of laurel in their hands, divided into bands and companies, followed the chariot of their commander; some singing odes (according to the usual custom) mingled with railery; others, songs of triumph, and the praise of Æmilius's exploits, who was admired and accounted happy by all, and unenvied by every good man. But it seems to be the province of some jealous being, to lessen that happiness which is excessive, and so to mingle the affairs of human life, that no one shall be entirely exempt from calamities; so that, as Homer says, those should think themselves happy, to whom fortune has given an equal share of good and evil\*.

Æmilius had four sons, two of whom, Scipio and

\* Plutarch has here in view that passage in the last book of the Iliad, where Homer says, there are two vessels standing, one on each side of the throne of Jupiter; that one of these is filled with evil, and the other with good; that they are unfortunate whose portion is all taken out of the first; that they are the most happy for whom Jupiter provides an equal mixture out of both; and that the good without alloy is reserved only for the gods.

Fabius,

Fabius, (as is already related,) were adopted into other families; the other two, whom he had by a second wife, and who were yet but young, he brought up in his own house. One of these died at fourteen years of age, five days before his father's triumph; the other at twelve, three days after it. So that there was not a Roman who did not share in his grief, and every one was struck with horror at the cruelty of fortune, who did not scruple to bring so much sorrow into a house filled with joy and happiness, with feasts and sacrifices, and to intermingle tears and lamentations with songs of victory and triumph. But Æmilius wisely considered that courage and resolution was not only requisite to resist swords and spears, but also to withstand all the shocks of ill fortune; therefore he so mixed and tempered the several accidents which had befallen him at that time, as to overbalance the evil by the good, and his private concerns by those of the public; that nothing might appear which seemed to lessen the importance, or sully the dignity of his victory: For, as soon as he had buried the first of his sons, (as we have already said), he triumphed; and the second dying almost as soon as his triumph was over, he called an assembly of the people, and made an oration to them, not like a man who stood in need of comfort from others, but as one who was desirous to alleviate the grief which his fellow-citizens felt for his misfortunes. *I, said he, who never yet feared any thing merely human, amongst such things as are divine, have always had a dread of fortune as faithless and inconstant; and the extraordinary success which attended me during the course of this war, greatly increased my apprehensions; I imagined that some tempest or adverse wind would certainly follow so favourable a gale. For in one day I passed the Ionian sea, and arrived from Brundisium at Corcyra; in five more I sacrificed at Delphi, and in other five days came up to my forces in Macedonia; where, after I had finished the usual sacri-*

C. c. 2.

fices.

fices for purifying the army, I entered upon action, and in the space of fifteen days put an honourable period to the war. But when I still had a jealousy of fortune, even from the smooth current of my affairs, and saw myself secure from the danger of any enemy, I then feared that some ill accident would befall me during my voyage, as I brought home with me so great and victorious an army, such vast spoils, and kings themselves captives. Nay more, after I was returned to you safe, and saw the city full of joy, congratulations, and sacrifices, yet still did I suspect fortune, as well knowing that she never conferred any benefits that were sincere and without some alloy. Nor could my mind which was perpetually as it were in labour, and in continual apprehension of some public calamity, free itself from that fear, until this great misfortune befall me in my own family, and in the midst of those days which were set apart for triumph, I carried two of the best of sons, my only heirs, one after another to their funerals. Now therefore I myself am safe from danger, at least as to what was my greatest care; and I am verily persuaded, that, for the time to come, fortune will prove constant and harmless unto you; for she has sufficiently wreaked her envy at our successes on me and mine; nor is the conqueror a less conspicuous example of human frailty, than the man he led in triumph, with this only difference, that Perseus, though conquered, does yet enjoy his children, and the conqueror Æmilius is deprived of his. This is the generous speech which Æmilius is said to have made to the people, from a heart truly sincere, and free from all artifice.

Although he very much pitied Perseus's condition, and studied to befriend him as far as he was able, yet could he procure no other favour than his removal from the common prison\*, into a more cleanly and comfortable place of security, where

\* Quintus Cassius was ordered by the senate to remove Perseus and his son Alexander to Alba, where he was attended by a guard; but was supplied with money, and all other conveniencies, and had proper persons appointed to wait upon and serve him.



(it is generally said) he starved himself to death. But the manner of his death, as it is related by some, was very strange and cruel: they say, that the soldiers who guarded him, having conceived a spite and hatred against him for some certain reasons, and finding no other way to torment him, prevented him from sleeping, disturbed him when he was disposed to rest, and found out contrivances to keep him continually awake; by which means at length he was quite tired out, and so expired. Two of his children also died soon after him; the third, who was named *Alexander*, they say, proved an exquisite artist in turning and graving in miniature; and having perfectly learned to speak and write the Roman language, he was employed as a clerk by the magistrates, and behaved himself in his office with great skill and conduct.

They ascribe to Æmilius's conquest in Macedonia, this advantage which was extremely acceptable to the people, that he brought so vast a quantity of money into the public treasury, that they never paid any taxes till Hirtius and Pansa were consuls, which was in the first war between Anthony and Augustus\*. This was peculiar and remarkable in Æmilius, that though he was extremely beloved and honoured by the people, yet he always sided with the patricians, nor would he either say or do any thing to ingratiate himself with the vulgar, but constantly adhered to the nobility, and men of the first rank, in all matters of government. This conduct of his was afterwards urged by way of reproach against Scipio Africanus by Appius; for these two were in their time the most considerable men in the city, and stood in competition for the office of censor. The one had on his side the nobles and the senate, (to which party the family of the Appii always adhered); the other, although he

\* That is, during the space of 125 years.

was himself so great, yet had always solicited the favour and love of the people. When therefore Appius saw Scipio come into the forum surrounded with men of mean rank, and such as were but newly made free, yet were very fit to manage a debate, influence the populace, and carry whatsoever they designed by importunity and noise, he cried out with a loud voice; *Groan now, O Paulus Æmilius! if you have any knowledge in your grave of what is done above, that your son pretends to be censor, by the help of Æmilius the crier, Licinnius, and Philonicus.* As for Scipio, he always had the good will of the people, because he was continually heaping favours on them; but Æmilius, although he still took part with the nobles, yet was as much beloved by the multitude as he that was esteemed most popular, and sought by little arts to ingratiate himself with them: and this plainly appeared, when, amongst other dignities, they thought him worthy of the censorship, an office accounted most sacred, and of very great authority, as well in other things as in the strict examination into mens lives. For the censors had power to expel a senator of a profligate character, and inrol whom they judged most fit in his room, and to disgrace such young men of the equestrian order as lived licentiously, by taking away their horses. Besides this, they were to value and assess each man's estate, and register the number of the people. There were numbered by Æmilius three hundred and thirty seven thousand four hundred and fifty-two men. He declared Marcus Æmilius Lepidus chief of the senate\*, who had already four times arrived at that honour. He remo-

\* It was part of the office of the censors to call over the names of the senators; and he whose name stood first in their list, was styled *Princeps Senatus*, or *chief of the senate*. This distinction conferred no power, but was reckoned extremely honourable. If the censors omitted any senator's name, he was by that omission expelled from the senate.

ved from their office only three senators, and these were not of considerable note. The same moderation he and his colleague Marcius Philippus used with regard to the Roman knights.

Whilst he was thus busy about many important affairs, he fell sick of a disease, which at first seemed hazardous; and although after a while it proved without danger, yet it was very troublesome and difficult to be cured; so that by the advice of his physicians he sailed to Velia, and there dwelt a long time near the sea, in profound retirement. The Romans in the mean while longed for his return, and oftentimes, by their exclamations in the theatres, gave public testimonies of their earnest desire and impatience to see him. At last Æmilius thinking he had strength enough to perform the journey, upon occasion of a solemn sacrifice, at which his attendance was required, came back again to Rome, and there performed the holy rites with the rest of the priests, the people in the mean time crouding about him, and expressing their joy for his return. The next day he sacrificed again to the gods for his recovery, and having finished the rites, returned to his house, and went to bed; when all on a sudden, and before any change could be perceived in him, he fell into a raging fit; and being quite deprived of his senses, the third day after ended his life \*, in which he had enjoyed every thing which is thought conducive to human happiness. His funeral also was attended with singular pomp and solemnity, and his virtue graced with the best and happiest obsequies; not such as consisted in gold and ivory, or the like sumptuous and splendid preparations, but in the good-will, honour, and love, not only of his fellow-citizens, but even of his enemies. For as many of the Spaniards, Ligu-

\* He died in the 593d year of Rome, 158 years before the incarnation, and at sixty-eight years of age.



rians, and Macedonians \* as happened to be then at Rome, and were young and robust, helped to carry the bier, whilst the aged followed, calling Æmilius their benefactor and the preserver of their countries. He did indeed not only at the time of his victories treat them with kindness and clemency, but continued all the rest of his life still to serve and oblige them, as if they had been his friends and relations. They say his whole estate scarce amounted to three hundred and seventy thousand drachms, which he left between his two sons; but Scipio the younger, who was adopted into the richer family of Africanus, gave it all to his brother. This account we have of the life and character of Paulus Æmilius.

### The Comparison of TIMOLEON with PAULUS ÆMILIUS.

**I**F we consider these two heroes, as historians have represented them to us, very little difference will be found between them in the comparison. They made war with two powerful enemies: the one against the Macedonians, and the other a-

\* Valerius Maximus tells us, that those Macedonians who performed this last office to Æmilius, were some of the best quality in that country, and who resided then at Rome, in the character of ambassadors; upon which he makes this reflection. *Quod aliquanto majus videbitur, si quis cognoscat lecti illius frontem Macedonicis triumphis fuisse adornatam. Quantum enim Paulo tribuerant, propter quem gentis suæ cladum indicia per ora vulgi ferre non exhorruerunt? Quod spectaculum funeri speciem alterius triumphi adjecit.* “The behaviour of the Macedonians on this occasion will appear still more extraordinary, if we consider that the fore part of the bier was adorned with pictures representing the triumphs of the deceased, for the conquest of their country. What veneration must they have had for that man, when their respect to his memory was so great, that without any reluctance they could themselves bear in procession, and in the view of all the people, the memorials of the conquest of their nation! this sight turned even the solemnity of his funeral rites into the glory of a second triumph, gainst

gainst the Carthaginians ; and the success of both was equally glorious. One of them conquered Macedon, and subverted the kingdom and family of Antigonus, which had flourished in a succession of seven kings ; the other expelled tyranny out of Sicily, and restored that island to its ancient liberty. It may be urged in favour of Æmilius, that he engaged with Perseus, when that king was in the height of his power, and had often fought with success against the Romans : whereas Timoleon found Dionysius in a despairing condition, and reduced to the last extremity. On the other hand, this may be said in favour of Timoleon, that he vanquished several tyrants and a powerful Carthaginian army, with an inconsiderable number of men gathered together from all parts ; not with such an army as Æmilius had, of well-disciplined soldiers, experienced in war, and accustomed to obey ; but with an army of mercenaries, unexperienced, undisciplined, and ungovernable. And when actions are equally glorious, and the means to compass them unequal, the greatest praise is certainly due to that general, who conquers with the smaller power.

Both had the reputation of behaving with an uncorrupted integrity, in all affairs they managed : but Æmilius was from his infancy, by the laws and customs of his country, trained up and habituated to justice and disinterestedness ; which advantage Timoleon wanted ; he learned virtue by himself. And this appears from hence, that in that age all the Romans were educated with the greatest modesty and temperance, and taught to reverence and observe the laws of their country ; whereas not one of the Grecian generals who commanded in Sicily, could keep himself uncorrupted, except Dion, and of him they entertained a jealousy, that he would establish a monarchy there, after the Lacedæmonian manner. Timæus writes, that the Syracusans sent Gylippus home loaden with infamy, for his  
insatiable

insatiable covetousness and rapacity when he commanded the army. Divers historians mention, that Pharax the Spartan, and Calippus the Athenian, committed several wicked and treacherous actions, designing to make themselves kings of Sicily. But what were these men, and what strength had they to nourish so vain a thought? For the first of them was a follower of Dionysius, when he was expelled Syracuse, and the other an officer in the foreign troops which were hired by Dion. But Timoleon, at the request of the Syracusans, was sent to be their general; he was not left to collect troops himself, but found an army already formed, which they cheerfully submitted to his command; yet he employed this power for no other end than the destruction of usurpers.

This is truly worthy our admiration in Æmilius, that though he conquered so great and so rich a realm, as that of Macedon, yet he did not in the least increase his own wealth by it, nor would he touch or even see any of the money himself, though he was very liberal of it to others. This is not mentioned to reflect on Timoleon, for accepting of a handsome house and estate in the country, with which the Syracusans presented him; for on that occasion it was not dishonourable to receive them. But yet there is greater glory in a refusal; and that is the most consummate virtue, which refuses all gifts; how well soever it may have deserved them.

As that body is without doubt the most strong and healthy, which can best support extreme cold and excessive heat, in the change of seasons; so that is the most firm and vigorous mind, which is not puffed up with prosperity, nor dejected in adversity. And in this respect the virtue of Æmilius appears more complete; for his countenance and carriage was the same upon the loss of two beloved sons, as in the height of his prosperity. But Timoleon, after he had justly punished his brother, which



which was a truly heroic action, suffered his reason to give way to his passion, and, dejected with grief and remorse, forbore for twenty years together to appear in public, and to engage in any affairs of the commonwealth. It is certainly right to fear and avoid whatever is base and dishonourable; but to stand so much in fear of all censure and reproach, may argue a harmless and peaceable disposition, but never a great and truly heroic mind.

THE

T H E  
L I F E  
O F  
P E L O P I D A S.

CAto the elder one day hearing some persons extol a man who had shown a thoughtless temerity in battle, made this just observation, *that there was a great deal of difference between the love of virtue and the contempt of life.* It is related, that there was in King Antigonus's army a soldier of a very unhealthy complexion, but of uncommon bravery; the king inquiring what was the cause of his pale and sickly look, and learning from him that it was owing to some secret disease, gave strict order to his physicians to take all possible care of him, and to spare no pains for his cure. In a short time this brave soldier was cured; after which he never appeared so fond of danger, nor so daring in battle; the king, very much surpris'd at such a change, reproach'd him with it: the soldier, far from concealing the true reason, said, *Sir, You only are the cause that I am less bold and desperate than heretofore, by delivering me from that misery which made life a burden to me.* And to this purpose is the saying of a certain Sybarite concerning the Spartans, *That it was no merit in them that they were forward to expose themselves in battle, and seem'd to court death, since it was a deliverance to them from all the hardships and severities they suffer'd in life.* But it is no wonder that the

the Sybarites \*, who were dissolved in luxury and pleasure, should imagine that they who despised death, did it not out of a love of virtue and honour, but from a weariness and abhorrence of life. But the Lacedæmonians were of a different opinion ; they thought that virtue rendered both life and death pleasant, according to the old epitaph :

*They dy'd, but not as lavish of their blood,  
Or thinking death itself was simply good ;  
Both life and death the strictest virtue tried,  
And as that call'd they gladly liv'd, or died.*

For neither is an endeavour to avoid death blameable, when life may be desired without shame or dishonour ; nor is there any virtue in suffering death with constancy and resolution, when it proceeds only from an aversion to life. Hence it is that Homer always represents his bravest warriors going to battle well armed ; and the Grecian legislators punished any one who threw away his shield, though they excused the loss of a sword or spear ; intimating thereby, that a man's care in preserving himself is preferable to his hurting the enemy, especially in the governor of a city, or the general of an army. And indeed, to make use of Iphicrates's comparison, if we compare the light-armed

\* The luxury and effeminacy of this people exceeded all imagination. They used to boast, that they had never seen the sun either rise or set. And that nothing might disturb their sleep, the exercise of all kind of arts that were noisy, was forbidden, and even the crowing of cocks. Whenever they invited their women to any solemn feast, they always gave them a year's notice, that they might have time to get ready their fine cloaths, and other magnificent ornaments. They offered rewards to such cooks as invented the most elegant dishes of meat and highest sauces. And when any cook had invented any thing of that kind that was excellent, it was by a law expressly forbidden to all other cooks to make the same for the space of a year, that so the author might enjoy the benefit of his invention during that time. A certain Sybarite seeing a man digging, cried out, that it had given him a rupture ; and another to whom he told what he had seen, said, the very hearing it had given him a pain in his side. *Atben. lib. 12. cap. 3.*



foldiers to the hands, the cavalry to the feet, the main body to the breast, and the general to the head, that general who suffers himself to be carried too far by his martial ardour, does not only hazard his own person, but the lives of all those whose safety depends on him. And therefore Callicratides, though in other respects a great man, did not answer the augur well, who besought him not to expose himself to danger, because the entrails of the victim boded ill to him, and threatened his life; *Sparta*, said he, *is not bound up in one man*. It is true indeed, that Callicratides, fighting under the command of another person, whether by sea or land, was no more than one man; but being general of an army, he contained in himself the whole strength and power of all those who were under his command; so that he, on whose life the safety of so many thousands depended, was no longer a single person. Old Antigonus, just before a great sea-fight near the island of Andros, answered much better to one who told him that the enemy was far superior to him in number of ships; *For how many then*, said he, *dost thou reckon me?* thereby laying a proper stress upon the importance of a chief commander, if he be a man of experience and valour; and the first care of such a one should be to preserve himself, since he is the safety and security of all the rest. Therefore when Chares was showing the Athenians the wounds he had received while he was their general, and his shield pierced by a spear, Timotheus well replied, *For my part, when I besieged Samos, seeing an arrow fall very near me, how much was I ashamed for having needlessly exposed myself like a rash young man, and further than became the commander of so great an army!* Indeed where success in a great measure depends on the general's exposing himself, in such a case he ought not to spare his person, but exert himself to the utmost, without any regard to their maxims, who say that a general ought to die  
of

of age, or at least an old man. But where the advantage of his victory will not be great, and the consequence of a defeat will be destructive, no one would desire him to perform the part of a common foldier, by hazarding the loss of a general.

This is what I judged proper to premise before the lives of Pelopidas and Marcellus, who were both great men, but both perished by their rashness. For being very brave and daring, and having done honour to their country by their glorious exploits performed against very formidable enemies, (the one having vanquished Hannibal, till then invincible; and the other defeated the Lacedæmonians, who were masters both at sea and land, in a pitched battle), they ventured too far, and inconsiderately threw away their lives, when their countries stood most in need of such valiant men, and such skilful commanders. And therefore from the similitude there was between them we have drawn their parallel.

Pelopidas, the son of Hippoclus, was descended, as Epaminondas likewise was, from a noble family in Thebes. He was brought up from his infancy in plenty and opulence, and coming early to the possession of a great estate, made it his business to relieve such as were indigent and deserving; that he might make it appear he was truly the master of, and not a slave to his riches. For as to the bulk of mankind, as Aristotle says, some of them through avarice make no use at all of their wealth, while others abuse it to debauchery and excess: the latter live perpetual slaves to their pleasures, the former to care and toil. But though others made use of Pelopidas's generosity, and thankfully received his favours; Epaminondas alone of all his friends could never be prevailed on to partake of his wealth. Pelopidas however condescended to stoop to his poverty; and, after his example, took a pleasure in ordinary apparel, a frugal table, unwearied labour,

and in appearing plain and open in the highest posts and employments \*; like Capaneus in Euripides,

*Whose wealth was ne'er by folly misapplied,  
To serve his pleasure, or indulge his pride.*

For Pelopidas thought it a shame to spend more upon himself, than the poorest Theban.

As for Epaminondas, though poverty was familiar and hereditary to him, yet he made it still more light and easy by philosophy, and by chusing from the beginning a simple and uniform manner of life. But Pelopidas married into a good family, and had a great many children; yet, notwithstanding the increase of his expenses, he was still indifferent to wealth; and by bestowing all his time upon the public, he at last very much impaired his estate. And when some of his friends one day represented it to him, and told him, *that money which he neglected was a very necessary thing*: *It is very necessary*, replied he, *for Nicodemus there*, pointing to a man of that name, who was both lame and blind. Epaminondas and he were both born with the same disposition to all kind of virtues; but Pelopidas took more pleasure in the exercises of the body, and Epaminondas in the improvements of the mind; so that they spent all their leisure time, the one in hunting, and the Palæstra, the other in learned conversation and the study of philosophy. But of all the things for which they are so much celebrated, the judicious part of mankind reckon none so great and glorious as that strict friendship which they inviolably preserved through the whole course of their lives, in all the high posts they held, both military and civil. For whoever reflects upon the dissension, jealousy, and envy that always reigned between Aristides and Themistocles, Cimon and Pericles, Nicias and Alcibia-

\* In the original it is *κατὰ στρατίας ἀδύλα*; which is very obscure and probably corrupt,



des, during their administration of affairs, and then considers that affection and respect which Pelopidas and Epaminondas constantly had for each other; must confess that these more truly deserved to be styled companions and colleagues in government and in military command, than those others, whose mutual enmity exceeded even that they bore the enemies of their country, and who made it the business of their whole lives to supplant and ruin one another. The true cause of this was the virtue of Epaminondas and Pelopidas, which kept them, in all their actions, from aiming at wealth and fame, the pursuit of which is always attended with strife and envy; for being both equally inflamed with a divine ardour to make their country prosperous and happy by their administration, they looked upon each other's success as their own.

Most authors indeed write that this strict friendship between them did not begin till the battle of Mantinea \*, when the Thebans sent succours to the Lacedæmonians, who were at that time their friends and allies. For being both in that battle near one another, in the infantry, and fighting against the Arcadians, that wing of the Lacedæmonians in which they were, gave way and was broken; which Pelopidas and Epaminondas perceiving, they joined their shields, and keeping close together, bravely repulsed all that attacked them; till at last Pelopidas, after receiving seven large wounds, fell upon a heap of friends and enemies who lay dead together. Epaminondas, though he believed him slain, advanced before him to defend his body and arms, and for a long time maintained his ground against

\* We must take care not to confound this with the famous battle of Mantinea in which Epaminondas was slain. For that did not happen till after the death of Pelopidas, and was fought against the Lacedæmonians; whereas in this that Plutarch mentions, the Thebans assisted the Lacedæmonians, who were then their allies. It was before the banishment of Pelopidas, about the third year of the ninety-eighth Olympiad.

great numbers of the Arcadians, being resolved to die rather than desert his companion, and leave him in the enemy's power; but being wounded in his breast by a spear, and in his arm by a sword, he was quite disabled and ready to fall, when Agesipolis, king of the Spartans, came from the other wing to his relief, and, beyond all expectation, saved both their lives.

After this battle the Lacedæmonians behaved towards the Thebans, in all outward appearance, as friends and allies, though they were in reality jealous of the growing power and grandeur of their city. But above all, they had conceived a particular hatred against the party of Ismenias and Androclides, (in which Pelopidas was an associate), looking upon them as too zealous for liberty and a popular government. Therefore Archias, Leontidas, and Philip, who were all three very rich, immoderately ambitious, and violently bent upon an oligarchical government, proposed to Phœbidas the Lacedæmonian, who was marching by Thebes with a body of troops \*, to seize the castle called *Cadmea*, to drive away all the opposite party, to make the city subject to the Lacedæmonians, and to put the government into the hands of the nobility. Phœbidas approved their proposal, and during the festival of Ceres, when the Thebans little expected any act of hostility, put his design in execution, and made himself master of the castle. Ismenias was taken, and carried away to Lacedæmon †, where he

\* The Lacedæmonians had ordered ten thousand men to be raised, to march against Olynthus; while these were getting ready, they sent Eudamidas before with about two thousand; he begged the Lacedæmonians to put the other eight thousand under the command of his brother Phœbidas, which they did; and in his march with those troops to Olynthus, he passed by, and encamped near Thebes, where Leontidas made the forementioned proposal to him.

† He was not sent to Lacedæmon, but imprisoned in the castle, whither commissioners were sent to try him; three from Sparta, and one from every other city.

was in a short time put to death; but Pelopidas, Pherenicus, Androclides, and many more that fled, were sentenced to perpetual banishment. As for Epaminondas, he remained at Thebes unmolested, and disregarded, as a man who from his philosophy was disinclined to attempt, and from his poverty was unable to prosecute any great undertaking.

When the Lacedæmonians heard what Phœbidas had done, they deprived him of his command, and fined him a hundred thousand drachmas; but they still kept possession of the Cadmea, and continued a garrison in it. All the other Grecians were greatly surpris'd at this ridiculous inconsistency, to authorise and confirm an action, and yet at the same time punish the actor. And the Thebans having thus lost their ancient form of government, and being enslaved by Archias and Leontidas, saw no means nor hopes of being freed from a tyranny, which was supported by the Lacedæmonians, nor a possibility of breaking the yoke, but by such a power as was sufficient to deprive them of the superiority which they had both by sea and land.

Leontidas being informed that the exiles had retired to Athens, where they were kindly received by the common people, and honoured by men of rank and fortune, formed secret designs against their lives, by means of certain unknown assassins whom he sent thither. Androclides fell by their hands, but all the rest escaped.

At the same time the Athenians received letters from Sparta, warning them neither to receive nor encourage the exiles, but expel them as persons who had been declared common enemies to Greece by all the allies. But the Athenians, beside their natural humanity, thought themselves obliged to make a grateful acknowledgment and return to the Thebans, who had very much assisted them in restoring their democracy, and had publicly enacted, that if any Athenian should march armed against  
the



the tyrants through Bœotia, he should meet with no hinderance or molestation from the Bœotians. The Athenians, from these considerations, attempted nothing at all against the Thebans.

Pelopidas, though very young at that time, privately excited each single exile, and often told them at their meetings, *that it was both dishonourable and impious, to neglect their enslaved and captive country, and, meanly contented with their own lives and safety, to depend on the decrees of the Athenians, and fawn on every orator that had the art of wheedling the people; and that they ought to run every hazard in so glorious a cause, taking Thrasybulus's courage for their example; for as he advanced from Thebes, and broke the power of the tyrants in Athens, so should they march from Athens, and deliver Thebes.* When he had persuaded them by this discourse, they sent secretly to Thebes, to acquaint their friends there with their designs, which were highly approved of; and Charon, a person of the greatest quality in the city, offered his house for their reception. Philidas found means to be made secretary to Archias and Philip, who were then Polemarchs; and as for Epaminondas, he had taken pains all along to inspire the youth with courage and magnanimity\*: for, at their exercises, he always advised them to challenge and wrestle with the Spartans, and when he saw them pleased and elated, for having thrown and vanquished them, he told them, *that they ought rather to be ashamed of their cowardice in being enslaved by those, whom in strength they so much excelled.*

The day for action being set, it was agreed upon by the exiles, that Pherenicus with the rest

\* This is all the part Plutarch makes Epaminondas act in this enterprise. He was privy to it, but would not be concerned in it, because, he said, he would not dip his hands in the blood of his fellow-citizens; for he knew very well they would not be restrained within bounds, and that the tyrants would not be the only persons that would perish in it. Plutarch gives a fuller account of this in his discourse concerning the genius of Socrates;

should

should stay at Thriasium, and some few of the younger men try the first danger by endeavouring to get into the city, and if they were surpris'd by their enemies, the others should take care to provide for their families. Pelopidas was the first that offered himself for this undertaking, and after him Melon, Damoclidas, and Theopompus; all of them persons of the best families in Thebes, intimate and faithful friends in all things else, but rivals in honour and virtue. They were in all twelve \*; and having taken leave of their companions who staid behind at Thriasium, and dispatched a messenger to advertise Charon of their coming, they set forward, meanly clad, and carrying with them hounds and hunting poles, that they might not give any suspicion to those who met them on the road, but might be taken for hunters straggling about in pursuit of their game.

When their messenger arrived at Thebes, and had given Charon an account of their being upon the road, the approach of danger did not make him change his mind; but, like a man of probity and honour, he stood to his promise, and made preparations to receive them.

Among those who were privy to this design, there was one Hippothenidas, who was a well-meaning man, loved his country, and was a friend to the exiles; but he wanted that fortitude and resolution which so hazardous an enterprise required. This man †, considering the greatness of the danger in which they were going to embark, and not being able to comprehend how by the weak assistance of a few indigent exiles they should be strong enough

\* Xenophon mentions but seven.

† He considered, that though the associated exiles should be able to kill the tyrants, yet they were too few to take the garrison, which consisted of 1500 men; and that two very vigilant officers were to command the guard that night; and that Archias had ordered the Theban soldiers to be under arms that day,

to shake the Spartan government, and free themselves from that power, grew giddy as it were with the reflection. In this perplexity he went privately to his own house, and dispatched a friend to Melon and Pelopidas, desiring them to defer their enterprise for the present, to return to Athens, and wait there till a more favourable opportunity should offer. This messenger's name was *Chlidon*, who going home in all haste, and taking his horse out of the stable, bid his wife bring him the bridle; but she being at a loss, and not knowing where to find it, said, she had lent it to a neighbour. Chlidon upon this fell into a passion, from whence they soon proceeded to reproachful language, and after that to imprecations, his wife cursing him bitterly, and praying that his journey might prove fatal to himself, and those who sent him. Chlidon's passion transported him so far, that he spent most of the day in this squabble, and looking upon what had happened as an ill omen, laid aside all thoughts of his journey, and went elsewhere \*. So near were these great and glorious designs of miscarrying in the very birth. But Pelopidas and his associates dressing themselves like peasants, divided, and whilst it was yet day entered at several quarters of the city; besides, it was the beginning of winter †, and the snow fell, and a sharp wind blew, which contributed much to their concealment, because most of the citizens kept within doors to avoid the inclemency of the weather. But they that were in the secret, received them as they came, and conducted them forthwith to Charon's house; all of

\* He went to Hippothenidas's house, but not finding him at home, he went from thence to the house of one of the accomplices, where he guessed he should find him, to let him know how the matter stood, that so he might send some other messenger in his stead.

† The Spartans seized on the castle about the middle of summer, in the third year of the ninety-ninth Olympiad, and it was taken from them in the beginning of winter, in the first year of the 100th Olympiad.



them together, exiles and others, making up forty-eight in number.

As for the tyrants, their affairs stood thus: Philidas, their secretary, was, as I said before, an accomplice in the affair, and very forward to promote it. He had some time before promised to give Archias and his friends an entertainment at his house that very day, and to provide some women of pleasure in the town to meet them there. This he did with a view, that when they were enfeebled by lewdness and excess, they might fall a more easy sacrifice to the conspirators \*.

They had not been long at table before a rumour was spread among them, which, though not false, seemed uncertain, and confirmed by no circumstance, that the exiles lay somewhere concealed in the city. Philidas did what he could to divert the discourse; but Archias sent an officer to Charon to command his immediate attendance. By this time it was growing dark, so that Pelopidas and his friends were preparing for action, having their armour on already, and their swords girt: when on a sudden a great knocking was heard at the door; whereupon one stepping forth to know the meaning of it, and learning from the officer that he was come with an order to carry Charon to Archias, he returned in great haste and confusion, to give them an account of this terrible news. Every one at first believed that the whole plot was discovered, and that they should be all destroyed, without being able to perform any exploit worthy of their undaunted bravery and resolution. However, they were unanimous in their opinion, that Charon should obey the order, and appear boldly before the tyrants,

\* How could this be, when he brought nobody to them, but some of the conspirators dressed in womens cloaths? To reconcile this, it must be supposed that Philidas did really design to have had women for them; but being prevented either through want of time, or some other means, he caused some of the conspirators to be dressed in womens cloaths.

as no way terrified or conscious of any guilt. Charon, being a man of great firmness and intrepidity, was unmoved at the danger that threatened himself, but full of concern for the safety of his friends; and apprehending, that he might be suspected of treachery in case so many valiant citizens should be destroyed, before he left the house, he went into the womens apartment, and brought out his only son, who was very young, but for beauty and strength superior to any of his age, and with these words delivered him to Pelopidas, *If you find me a traitor, use this boy as an enemy, and be cruel in the execution.* The affliction and the magnanimity of Charon drew tears from many; but it extremely troubled them all, that he should think any one among them could be guilty of such baseness or cowardice, at the approach of danger, as either to suspect or blame his conduct; and they most earnestly besought him not to leave his son with them, but to remove him somewhere to a place of safety, that so he might one day revenge his friends and country, if he was so happy as to escape the tyrants fury. But Charon absolutely refused to remove him, saying, *What life, what safety can be more honourable, than to die bravely with his father, and with so many generous friends and companions?* Then imploring the protection of the gods, and embracing and encouraging them all, he parted.

On the way, as he went along, he endeavoured to recover himself, and so to compose his countenance and voice, that they might have as little conformity as possible with the real state of his mind. When he was come to the door of the house, Archias and Philip went out to him, and said, *What persons are these, Charon, who are lately come to town, as we are informed, and are concealed and countenanced by some of our citizens?* Charon was at first in a little disorder, but recovering himself quickly, he asked them, *Who these persons they spoke of, were, and by whom harboured?*

*ed?* and perceiving by Archias's answer, that he had no certain or particular knowledge of the matter, concluded, that his information could not come from any one who was privy to the design, and therefore said to them, *Do not be disturbed by a vain rumour; however I will make the best inquiry I can; for nothing of this kind ought to be neglected.* Philidas, who then appeared, commended his prudence; and bringing Archias back to the company, drank him up to a high pitch; and prolonged the entertainment, by keeping them still in expectation of seeing the women

Charon, at his return home, finding his friends not in expectation of safety and success, but as men resolved to die bravely, after being revenged on their enemies, told Pelopidas the plain truth, but concealed it from the rest \*, inventing several things, which he pretended Archias had discoursed him about.

This storm was scarce blown over before fortune raised another; for almost at the very same time arrived an express, sent from Archias the high priest of Athens to his namesake Archias of Thebes, who was his particular friend. The letters he brought did not contain an uncertain rumour, founded only on surmises and suspicions, but, as appeared afterwards, a full and exact account of the whole conspiracy. When the courier was brought to Archias, who was by this time well warmed with liquor, as he delivered his letters to him, he said, *Sir, the person who wrote these letters conjures you to read them forthwith, for they contain business of great importance.* But Archias taking the letters, said, smiling, *Business to-morrow;* and putting them under the bolster of his couch, resumed his former conversa-

\* Why this artifice? There was no occasion at all for it. And Plutarch himself, in his treatise concerning the genius of Socrates, says, that Charon came back to them with a pleasant countenance, and told them all, what Archias had said to him.



tion with Philidas. Those words, *Business to-morrow*, grew into a proverb, and continue so to this day among the Greeks.

When every thing was ripe for action, the conspirators issued out, and divided themselves into two bodies; one under the command of Pelopidas and Damoclidias marched against Leontidas and Hypates \*, who were neighbours; and the other, led by Charon and Melon, went to attack Archias and Philip. These put womens cloaths over their armour, and pine and poplar about their heads to shade their faces. As soon as they appeared at the door where the guests were, the whole company shouted for joy, believing them to be the women they had so long expected. But when the conspirators had looked round the room, and diligently observed all who were present, they drew their swords, and made at Archias and Philip across the table, which soon discovered who they were. Philidas prevailed with a few of his guests to sit still; the rest who rose up to defend themselves, and assist their chiefs, being disordered with wine, were easily dispatched.

But Pelopidas and his party met with a more difficult task; for they were obliged to encounter a sober and valiant man. When they came to the house of Leontidas, they found the doors shut, he being already gone to bed; there they knocked a long time before any body answered; but at last, a servant that heard them, came down to open the door; but he had scarce unbolted, and not half opened it, when rushing in all together, they overturned the man, and ran as fast as they could up stairs to Leontidas's chamber. Leontidas hearing the noise, suspected the matter, and leaping from

\* These did not sup. with Philidas, because Archias expecting to meet one of the greatest ladies in the city there, had no mind that Leontidas should be at the entertainment; and so Philidas could not invite him.

his bed, seized his sword; but forgot to put out his lights, which, had he done it, might have been the occasion of their falling foul on one another in the dark, and so he himself might have escaped. But though he had the disadvantage of being easily seen by reason of the light, he received them at his chamber-door, and stabbed Cephisodorus, who was the first man that attempted to enter. The next that he encountered was Pelopidas; but the passage being narrow, and Cephisodorus's dead body lying in the way, the dispute was long and difficult; however at last Pelopidas overpowered him, and killed him. From thence they went all together to find out Hypates, and got into his house after the very same manner: but he, alarmed at the noise, made his escape into a neighbour's house, whither they closely followed him, and killed him. After this they marched to join Melon, and sent to hasten the exiles they had left in Attica, proclaiming liberty to all the Thebans. They likewise took down the spoils that hung over the porticoes, and breaking open the shops of the armourers, and sword-cutlers, armed all those that came to their assistance. Epaminondas and Gorgidas having gathered together and armed a large body of young men, and some of the strongest of the old men, came in, and joined them.

The whole city was by this time in great terror and confusion, the houses full of lights, and the streets of people running to and fro; yet they did not gather together in a body, but being amazed at what had happened, and knowing nothing with certainty, waited impatiently for the day. The Spartan officers were undoubtedly guilty of a great oversight, in not falling upon the conspirators, while this confusion lasted; for the garrison at that time consisted of 1500 men, and they were joined besides by many of the people of the city. But being in a kind of consternation at the outcries, nu-

merous lights, and confused hurry of the people, they did not move at all, but contented themselves with preserving the castle.

As soon as day appeared, the exiles from Attica came in armed, and there was a general assembly of the people. Epaminondas and Gorgidas brought forth Pelopidas and his party, encompassed by the priests, who carried garlands in their hands, and exhorted the people to fight for their gods and their country. The whole assembly, excited by this appearance, rose up, and with shouts and acclamations received the men as their benefactors and deliverers. Then Pelopidas being appointed governor of Bœotia, together with Melon and Charon, immediately blocked up, and attacked the castle, thinking it of great importance to drive out the Lacedæmonians, and get possession of it, before any succours could arrive from Sparta. And indeed he was beforehand with them but a very little while \*; for the Lacedæmonians had scarce surrendered the place, and were, according to the capitulation, returning home, when they met Cleombrotus at Megara, marching towards Thebes with a powerful army. The Spartans called the three chief commanders, who signed that capitulation, to an account; Hermippidas and Arcissus were executed for it; and Lyfanoridas the third, was fined so severely,

\* Plutarch, in this place, seems to straiten his narrative too much. How was it possible for the conspirators with the assistance only of a few citizens, and the exiles from Attica, to retake so strong a place as that castle; where there were 1500 Lacedæmonians in garrison, besides above 3000 more, citizens and others, that had fled to them, and declared on their side? He ought to have mentioned the 5000 foot, and 2000 horse, which the Athenians sent very early the next morning to Pelopidas's assistance, under the command of Demophon, as well as the several bodies of troops that came from all the cities of Bœotia, all which together made up an army of 12,000 foot, and 2000 horse. This was the army that besieged the castle, which held out several days, and surrendered at last only for want of provisions. See Xenoph. l. 5. of the Grecian history, and Diodor. Sicul. l. 15.

that,



that, being unable to pay the sum, he was forced to fly his country.

This action being so like that of Thrasylbulus, whether we consider the courage of the actors, or the difficulties that were to be surmounted, and the success that attended it, was for that reason called its sister by the Greeks. For it would be difficult to give another instance of persons so few in number, who by their bravery and conduct overcame so powerful an opposition, and procured such signal advantages to their country. But this action was rendered still more glorious by that change of affairs which followed upon it. For that war, which humbled the pride of the Spartans, and deprived them of their empire both by sea and land, was the effect of that night's enterprise, when Pelopidas, without taking castle, fortification, or town, but being only one out of twelve who entered a private house, loosened and broke to pieces (if we may express truth by a metaphor) the chains of the Spartan government, till then thought indissoluble.

Not long after this the Lacedæmonians entered Bœotia with a powerful army; which so terrified the Athenians, that they renounced all alliance with the Thebans, and judicially prosecuted all that continued in their interest; some they put to death, others they banished, and others they fined severely. Thus the affairs of the Thebans, they having no friend or ally, seemed at that time to be in a very desperate condition. But Pelopidas and Gorgidas being then governors of Bœotia, consulted together how to breed a fresh quarrel between the Athenians and Spartans; and this was their contrivance. There was a certain Spartan named *Sphodrias*, a man of great courage, but of no sound judgment, and whose mind was always full of vain and ambitious projects. This man had been left at Thespiæ with a body of troops to receive and protect such Bœotians as should desert the interest of

their country, and go over to the Spartans. To him Pelopidas \* sent money secretly by a merchant who was his friend, and at the same time such advice as was most proper to flatter his vanity, and would be more persuasive than money, *That he ought to undertake some noble enterprise, and making a sudden incursion on the unprovided Athenians, surprise the Piræus; that nothing could be so agreeable to the Spartans, as to be masters of Athens; and that the Thebans hating the Athenians, as they now did, and looking upon them as traitors, would be sure to give them no manner of assistance.* Persuaded by this message, Sphodrias marched with his army by night, entered Attica in a hostile manner, and advanced as far as Eleusis; but then his soldiers hearts began to fail †; and finding his design was discovered, he thought fit to return to Thebæ, after having by this action brought upon the Lacedæmonians a long and dangerous war ‡: for immediately upon this, the Athenians made a new alliance with the Thebans, and assisted them with all their power; and fitting out a large fleet sailed to several places, receiving and engaging all the Greeks that were inclined to shake off the Spartan yoke.

In the mean time, the Thebans having frequent skirmishes with the Spartans in Bœotia, and after fighting some battles (not great indeed, but fit to train them up, and instruct them), their spirits were raised, and their bodies inured to labour, and they

\* This is more probable than what Diodorus Siculus writes, l. 15. that Cleombrotus, without any order from the Ephori, persuaded Sphodrias to surprise the Piræus.

† They hoped to have reached the Piræus before morning, but were surprised, when the day appeared, to find themselves at Eleusis, and perceiving that they were discovered, they began to repent of their undertaking, and so returned, pillaging and carrying off with them several flocks and herds of cattle.

‡ The Lacedæmonians saw plainly what would be the consequence of this attempt. The Ephori recalled Sphodrias, and proceeded against him; but Agefilaus, being influenced by his son, who was in love with the son of Sphodrias, saved him.

got both experience and courage by those frequent encounters. Infomuch that Antalcidas is reported to have said to Agefilas, when he was brought home wounded from Bœotia, *You are now paid for the instruction you have given the Thebans, and for teaching them the art of war against their will.* Though, to speak properly, Agefilas was not their master, but those wise commanders who led them with prudence to battle; and when they saw a fit opportunity, let them loose, like stanch hounds, upon the enemy; and when they had tasted the sweets of victory, by which their appetites were sharpened, took them off again safe and unhurt. But of all these leaders, Pelopidas deserves most honour; for from the time of his being first chosen general, till his death, he was never one year out of employment, but was constantly either captain of the sacred band, or governor of Bœotia.

The Lacedæmonians were several times worsted by the Thebans; particularly at Platea and Thespiæ, where Phœbidas, who had surpris'd the Cadmea, was killed; and at Tanagra, where Pelopidas slew their chief commander, whose name was *Pantoides*, with his own hand. But this series of success, though it served to animate and encourage the victors, did not quite dishearten the vanquished: for there was no considerable or pitched battle, but only incursions made occasionally, in which sometimes pursuing, and sometimes retreating, the Thebans had the advantage. But the battle of Tegyræ, which was a sort of prelude to that of Leuctra, rais'd Pelopidas's reputation very high; for none of the other commanders had any claim to share with him in the honour of the day, nor had the enemy any pretext by which they could alleviate the shame of the defeat.

He kept a strict eye over the city of Orchomenus, which had sided with the Spartans, and taken two companies of foot for its garrison; and at length



length he found an opportunity to make himself master of it. For having one day received intelligence that the garrison was marched out to make an incursion into Locris, he hastened thither with his forces, consisting of the sacred battalion, and some horse, hoping to find the place defenceless; but when he came near the city, understanding that a body of troops were on their march from Sparta to reinforce the garrison, he retreated with his army by Tegyræ along the sides of the mountains, which was the only way he could possibly pass; for all the flat country was overflowed by the river Melas, which, as soon as it rises, spreads itself into marshes, and navigable pools, making all the lower roads impassable. A little below these marshes stands the temple of Apollo Tegyræus, whose oracle has not been long silent; it was in its highest credit during the wars with the Medes, when Echeocrates was high priest. Here they report that Apollo was born. The neighbouring mountain is called *Delos*; and at the foot of it the river Melas comes again into a channel. Behind the temple rise two copious springs, admired for the sweetness and coolness of the water: one of them is still called the *palm*, the other the *olive*; so that Latona seems to have been delivered not between two trees, but between two fountains. Near this place is Mount Ptoum, where they say she was affrighted at the appearance of a wild boar. The stories of Python and Tityus who were slain there, seem likewise to favour their opinion who make it the place where Apollo was born. I omit many other circumstances, made use of to support this opinion; since ancient tradition does not rank him in the number of those gods who were born mortal, and having afterwards divested themselves of this frail and corruptible nature were transformed into gods, as Hercules and Bacchus; but he is one of the eternal deities who never were born as mortals are, if we may credit

credit those ancient sages who have treated of the nature of the gods.

As the Thebans returned from Orchomenus, by Tegyræ, the Spartans marching at the same time from Locris, met them upon the road. As soon as they had passed the straits, and were in view, one ran in all haste to Pelopidas, and told him, *We are fallen into the enemy's hands: And why, said he, not they into ours?* At the same time he commanded his horse that were in the rear, to advance and begin the attack. His foot, which were no more than 300 men, he drew into a close body, not doubting but that, where-ever they pressed, they would break through the enemy, though superior in number. The Spartans had divided their infantry into two battalions; each consisted, as Ephorus reports, of 500, Callisthenes says 700, but Polybius and others 900. Gorgoleon and Theopompus, their generals, led them on to the charge with great bravery. The shock began where the commanders fought in person on both sides, and was very violent and furious; the Spartan generals, who pressed hard upon Pelopidas, fell first, and all who were near them were either killed, or put to flight: thereupon the whole army was so terrified, that they opened a lane for the Thebans, through which they might have passed safely, and continued their march, if they had pleased; but Pelopidas disdaining to accept of this opportunity to make his escape, marched against those who still kept their ground, and made such a terrible slaughter among them, that they were entirely routed, and ran away in great confusion. The Thebans did not pursue them very far, for fear of the Orchomenians, who were near the place of battle, and of the reinforcement from Lacedæmon. They satisfied themselves with the advantage they had already gained, and with making an honourable retreat through the midst of a dispersed and defeated army.

After

After they had erected a trophy, and gathered the spoils of the slain, they returned home greatly elated at their success: for in all their former wars, whether against Greeks or Barbarians, the Spartans were never before beaten by a smaller, nor even by an equal number. Thus their courage seemed irresistible, and so high was their reputation in war, that it intimidated their enemies, who were afraid to venture an engagement with them on equal terms.

This battle first taught the Greeks, that neither the Eurotas, nor the country that lies between Babyce and Cnacion, breeds martial spirits and bold warriors, but that where-ever the youth are ashamed of what is base, are resolutely virtuous, and fear dishonour more than danger, there will be found the men who are most terrible to their enemies.

Gorgidas, as some report, first formed the sacred band, consisting of 300 select men, to whom (being a guard for the castle) the city allowed provision, and all things necessary for exercising them; and they were called the *city-band*, for castles, in those days, were called *cities*. Others pretend that it was composed of lovers and their beloved; and there is related a pleasant observation of Pammenes, to this purpose. He said that Homer's Nestor was not well skilled in ordering an army, when he bid the Greeks,

*Each tribe and family together join.*

That he should have joined lovers, and their beloved: for men of the same tribe or family little value one another when dangers press; but a band cemented by friendship and love, is invincible; since the lovers, ashamed to appear mean in the sight of their beloved, and the beloved before their lovers, willingly rush into danger for the relief of one another; nor is this at all strange, since they have more regard



regard for their absent lovers, than for any others, though present. An instance of which that man gave, who when he was fallen down, and his enemy was ready to kill him, earnestly requested him to run him through the breast, that his lover might not blush to see him wounded in the back. Thus it is said of Iolaus, who was beloved by Hercules, that he accompanied that hero in all his labours, and never deserted him in the greatest danger. Hence arose the custom for lovers to swear inviolable faith and affection at Iolaus's tomb, which Aristotle \* assures us, continued in his time. It is very probable therefore that this band was called *sacred*, on the same account that Plato styles a lover, a *divinely-inspired friend*. It is said, that this band remained invincible till the battle of Chæroneæ; and when Philip after the fight, as he was taking a view of the slain, came to the place where the 300 lay dead together, all fallen upon their breasts †, as having furiously rushed upon the Macedonian spears, he stood still and wondered; and being told that it was the band of lovers, he wept, and said, *May a curse light on those who can suspect that these men could ever do or suffer a shameful thing.*

In short, ‡ it is certain, that it was not, as the poets

\* I cannot find this place in Aristotle; but it appears from the *discourse of love*, which is among Plutarch's moral works, that this custom continued even to his time.

† In the original it is, *ἀπαντας ἐν σπνοῖς, ὅπλοις*, which seems quite unintelligible. The Latin translator render its, *omnes in artibus viis*, changing *ὅπλοις* into *ὁδοῖς*; but this is hardly any better than the other. Mr Dacier entirely omits it. If we reject the word *ὅπλοις* as a marginal gloss upon the preceding word *σπεῖσσαι*, and for *σπνοῖς* read *σπνοῖς*, the passage will be clear and pertinent; for nothing could be a stronger proof of the resolution with which they rushed upon the enemy, than their having, as they died, fallen upon their breasts.

‡ The story which Plutarch had an eye to in this place, and which he relates himself in his comparisons between the Greek and Roman histories, is as follows. Lais was desperately in love with Chrysi-

pus

poets say, the criminal passion of Laius that introduced among the Thebans this love of young men; but their legislators themselves established it: for being desirous to soften and moderate even from their infancy the natural fierceness and impetuosity of the youth, they brought the flute into vogue, and used it on all serious occasions as well as in their amusements; and encouraged in them that noble principle of love in their places of public exercise, that they might thereby temper the violence and ferocity of their dispositions. And therefore Harmony, the daughter of Mars and Venus, was very justly chosen to be the tutelar goddess of their city, thereby to signify, that wheresoever valour and strength is mixed with attractive graces and the arts of persuasion, there must always be the most perfect and best regulated government; since every thing there obeys the laws of harmony.

Gorgidas, who first raised the sacred band, divided the men of which it was composed in all engagements, and disposed them up and down in the first ranks of his infantry, which made their courage less conspicuous; and they were in effect weakened whilst they fought in separate parties, and were mingled with others more in number, and of inferior resolution. But Pelopidas, who had made proof of their bravery at the battle of Tegyra, where they fought together, never afterwards divided them, but keeping them always entire as one body, he constantly charged at the head of them in

pus the natural son of Pelops, with whom he maintained a criminal correspondence, till the young man was at last murdered in the night by Hippodamia, as he was lying by the side of Laius. Æschylus and Euripides, who made this prince's life the subject of their tragedies, pretend that he was the first instance of this sort of love; and that Juno, to revenge the sanctity of the nuptial bed, sent the monster Sphinx to Thebes, who brought such miseries and devastations upon the Thebans. But it is not true, that Laius was the first infamous example of that kind. Plato in his eighth book *de legibus* shews that there was a law in being before his time, forbidding a criminal commerce between men and men, and of women with one another,

the

the most difficult and dangerous attacks. For as horses when harnessed together in a chariot, go on with greater spirit and alacrity, than when they are driven single and alone, not because the air is more easily divided by their united effort, but because their courage is heightened by emulation; so Pelopidas thought that brave men, by striving to excel each other in valour and the pursuit of glory, would be more useful, and fight with greater resolution together than apart.

When the Lacedæmonians had made peace with all the other Greeks, and continued the war against the Thebans only, and when King Cleombrotus had entered their country with an army of 10,000 foot and 1000 horse, they saw themselves in danger not only of losing their liberty as before, but seemed to be threatened with a total extirpation; which spread the utmost terror over all Bœotia. When Pelopidas was ready to depart for the army, and his wife following him to the door earnestly besought him with tears in her eyes to take care of himself, he replied, *Private men are to be advised to take care of themselves, and generals to take care of others.*

When he came to the army, and found the general officers differing in opinion, he was the first that joined with Epaminondas, who advised to give the enemy battle. He was not at that time commander in chief, but captain of the sacred band; and the Thebans had great confidence in him, as it was reasonable they should, after he had given such proofs of his zeal for the liberty of his country.

A resolution being then taken to fight, and both armies lying before Leuctra, Pelopidas had a dream which very much discomposed him. In the plain of Leuctra were buried the bodies of the daughters of Scedafus, called from the place *Leuctrides*. For they having been ravished by some Spartans whom they had entertained as guests, and being unable to



survive the disgrace, killed themselves, and were interred there. Their father went to Lacedæmon to demand satisfaction for so detestable and impious an action; but being unable to obtain it, after uttering dreadful imprecations against the Spartans, he killed himself at his daughters tombs. From that time many prophecies and oracles forewarned the Spartans to beware of the divine vengeance at Leuctra: but these menaces were not understood, neither was the place certainly known; because there was a town in Laconia by the sea-side called *Leuctrum*, and another of the same name near Megalopolis, in Arcadia; besides, the crime was committed long before this battle. As Pelopidas was asleep in his tent, he thought he saw the maids weeping at their tombs, and loading the Spartans with imprecations; and at the same time their father Scedæsus commanded him *to sacrifice a young red-haired virgin to his daughters, if he desired to gain the victory.* Pelopidas looking on this as a harsh and impious injunction, rose, and told it to the soothsayers and commanders of the army. Some were of opinion that this order was not to be neglected or disobeyed; alleging for examples the ancient histories of Menœceus the son of Creon, and of Macaria the daughter of Hercules; and others more modern, as that of Pherecydes the philosopher, who was put to death by the Lacedæmonians, and whose skin, at the oracle's command, was still carefully kept by the kings of Sparta; that of Leonidas, who, in obedience to the oracle, did in a manner sacrifice himself for the safety of Greece; and lastly that of Themistocles, who, before the battle of Salamin, sacrificed three prisoners to Bacchus surnamed *Omelles*; all which sacrifices were justified by the success. They said further, that Agesilaus marching from the same place, and against the same enemies that Agamemnon did before, was commanded one night as he lay at Aulis to sacrifice his daughter to the

the

the goddess Diana; but, out of his extreme tenderness for her, he refused it; and so his expedition proved unsuccessful. Others, on the contrary, insisted that so barbarous and unjust an oblation could not be acceptable to any superior beings; that the Typhons and the giants did not preside over the world, but the Father of gods and men; that it was absurd to suppose that the gods took delight in human sacrifices; and if any of them did, they were to be neglected as vicious and impotent beings; for such strange and corrupt desires could exist only in weak and depraved minds.

The generals thus differing in opinion, and Pelopidas being very much at a loss how to determine, on a sudden a wild she-colt that had broke out of the stud, ran through the camp, and when she came near the place where they were, stood still. Whilst some admired the sparkling redness of her mane, the stateliness of her form and motions, and the spirit and vigour of her neighings, Theocritus the diviner having considered the matter, cried out to Pelopidas; *Behold there the victim that comes to offer itself; wait thou for no other virgin, but sacrifice that which the gods have sent thee.* Whereupon they seized the colt, brought her to the tombs of the Leucitrides, and there offered her up with the usual prayers and ceremonies, testifying their joy, and publishing throughout the army an account of Pelopidas's vision, and the sacrifice which had been required of him.

The day of battle being come, Epaminondas drew up his left wing in an oblique battalion \*, that  
the

\* The term λόξη φάλαγξ, or oblique battalion, was used when one of the wings advanced obliquely towards the enemy, leaving a space between it and the main body of the army, which always retired back in proportion as the other advanced forward. Xenophon ascribes this victory to two causes; first, to the badness of the Lacedæmonian cavalry. For at that time only such as were rich kept horses, so that  
F f 2 whenever

the right wing of the Spartans being obliged to divide from the other Greeks, their allies, he might be able to break through them with the greater ease, and press the harder upon Cleombrotus who commanded them; but the enemy perceiving his design, changed the disposition of their army, and began to extend their right wing further out, with a design to encompass Epaminondas. But Pelopidas came briskly up before Cleombrotus could open and close his division, and at the head of his sacred band fell upon the disordered Spartans. The Lacedæmonians were the most expert of all the Greeks in the art of war; and were trained up, and accustomed to nothing so much as to keep themselves from confusion and to preserve their ranks, so that they could always unite their efforts on what part soever the danger pressed. But in this battle Epaminondas, without any regard to the other troops, falling upon the right wing while they were in confusion, and Pelopidas at the same time coming up at the head of his 300 men with incredible speed and bravery, baffled all their art and resolution, and caused such a rout and slaughter among the Lacedæmonians, as had never been known before. So that Pelopidas, who only commanded the sacred band, gained as much honour by this day's victory, as Epaminondas, who was governor of Bœotia, and commander in chief of the whole army.

Soon after this, being joint governors of Bœotia, they marched into Peloponnesus, where they made several cities revolt from the Lacedæmonians, and

whenever a war happened, they were obliged, in order to mount their cavalry, to take up with the first horses they could get, and with unskilful riders; whereas the Theban horse were very good, expert, and well disciplined, by having been long employed in the wars against the Orchomenians and Thespians. The second cause he mentions is, that the right wing of the Lacedæmonians was only twelve men deep; whereas the left wing of the Thebans was fifty deep, because they thought that if they could make the right wing of the Lacedæmonians, where King Cleombrotus was, give way, the rest would not stand.

recovered



recovered from them Elis, Argos, all Arcadia, and the greatest part even of Laconia. It was now the very depth of winter, near the latter end of the last month in the year, when the time of their office was very nigh expired; for on the first day of the next month new governors were of course to succeed, and those who refused to deliver up their charge were punishable with death.

The rest of their colleagues for fear of this law, and to avoid the inclemency of the season, were for marching back with all speed to Thebes; but Pelopidas joined with Epaminondas, and encouraging his fellow-citizens, led them against Sparta, and passing the Eurotas, took several of their towns, and ravaged the whole country quite to the sea-coast, at the head of an army of above 70,000 men, of which the Thebans did not make the twelfth part. But the high reputation of those two great men made all the allies without any public decree or agreement silently follow and obey them. For the first and supreme law, that of nature, seems to direct, that when men stand in need of protection, he should be their chief, who is best able to defend them. And as mariners, though in a calm, or in port, they appear insolent, and brave the pilot, yet as soon as a storm begins to arise, and danger appears, fix their eyes on him, and rely wholly on his skill; so the Argives, the Eleans, and the Arcadians in their consultations would contend with the Thebans for superiority of command; but whenever they were obliged to fight, or saw any danger at hand, they all submitted to the Theban generals, and readily obeyed their orders.

In this expedition they united all Arcadia into one body, and driving out the Spartans who inhabited Messenia, called home its ancient inhabitants, and repeopled Ithome. And in their return home through Cenchrea, they defeated the Athenians, who had attacked them in the narrow ways;

with a design to hinder their passage \*. These exploits made all the other people of Greece applaud their valour, and admire their success: but the envy of their fellow-citizens increasing in proportion to their glory, prepared such a reception for them at their return, as their signal services to their country had very ill deserved; for they were both tried capitally for not laying down their command at the beginning of the month called *Boucation*, and continuing to hold it four months longer, contrary to law; during which time they performed those great actions in Messenia, Arcadia, and Laconia.

Pelopidas was tried first, and therefore was in most danger; but at last they were both acquitted. Epaminondas bore the accusation and trial very patiently, esteeming it a principal part of fortitude and magnanimity not to resent the injuries of his fellow-citizens. But Pelopidas being naturally of a warmer temper, and excited by his friends to revenge the affront, took this occasion.

Meneclides, the orator, was one of those who were concerned with Melon and Pelopidas in the combination at Charon's house. He finding himself less considered by the Thebans than the rest of the conspirators, (for though he was very eloquent, he was profligate and malicious), employed his talents to accuse and calumniate his betters; and this he continued to do with regard to Pelopidas and Epaminondas, even after judgment was passed in their favour. He succeeded so far as to deprive Epaminondas of the government of Bœotia, and for a long time opposed and obstructed him in every thing he attempted. But being unable by all his artifices to rob Pelopidas of the people's favour, he endeavoured to create a misunderstanding be-

\* This happened to the Athenians through the fault of their general Iphicrates, who designing to secure the passes, had forgot to seize on Cenchrea, which was the most commodious port for hindering the passage of the Thebans.

tween him and Charon; for it is some comfort and relief to an envious person, when he is unable to excel those he envies, to make them be thought at least inferior to those he has a mind to extol. For this reason he was continually haranguing to the people on the noble exploits of Charon, which he amplified as much as possible, and made frequent panegyrics on his great victories and expeditions; and he endeavoured to perpetuate by some public monument the memory of the battle won by their cavalry under Charon's command at Plataeæ, a little before the battle of Leuctra; the method he proposed was this. Androcydes of Cyzicus had begun a picture of some other battle for the Thebans, which he worked at in the city of Thebes; but when the revolt began, and the war came on, he was obliged to leave the city; however, the Thebans kept the picture, which was very nigh finished. Meneclides endeavoured to persuade the people to hang this picture in some temple, or public place, with an inscription signifying it to be one of Charon's battles, hoping by that means to obscure the glory of Pelopidas and Epaminondas. But it was a ridiculous and senseless ambition to prefer one single engagement, wherein nothing considerable was achieved, and no more slain on the Spartan side than one Gerandas, an obscure citizen, and forty more, to so many great and noble victories\*. Pelopidas opposed this motion, affirming it to be contrary to law, and insisting that it had never been the custom of the Thebans to honour any private person on account of any public success, but to attribute the whole glory of all their victories to their country. During this whole proceeding he highly extolled Charon, but at the same

\* This Charon seems to have been a person of no distinction, since Xenophon mentioning the conspirators he received into his house, says, *that they went into the house of one Charon, παρὰ Χάρωνι τῷ.* Which is not the way of speaking of persons of note.



time made it plainly appear that Meneclides was a turbulent and envious man, and often asked the Thebans, if they had never before done any thing that was great and excellent. The Thebans hereupon laid a heavy fine on Meneclides, which he being unable to pay, used his utmost endeavours ever after to disturb and overturn the government. An account of such particulars is of use to give us an insight into the lives and characters of men.

At that time Alexander the tyrant of Pheræ \* made open war against several parts of Thessaly, and had entertained a secret design to subdue the whole; whereupon the cities sent ambassadors to Thebes, to beg the assistance of some troops and a general. Pelopidas knowing that Epaminondas was detained by the Peloponnesian war, offered himself to command in Thessaly, being loath that the skill he had acquired in military affairs should lie useless, and well knowing that where-ever Epaminondas commanded, there was no need of any other general. He therefore marched with an army into Thessaly, where he soon reduced the city of Larissa; and when Alexander came to him in a submissive manner, he endeavoured to reform him, and instead of a tyrant, to render him a just and merciful prince; but finding him incorrigible and brutal, and receiving daily complaints of his cruelty, lewdness, and avarice, he began to treat him with some severity; upon which the tyrant made his escape privately with his guards. Pelopidas having thus secured the Thessalians from all danger of tyranny, and left them in a good understanding among themselves, marched for Macedonia, where Ptolemy was making war against A-

\* He had lately poisoned his uncle Polyphron, and succeeded him; this Polyphron had slain his brother Polydore. They were both brothers to Jason, who having been appointed general of the Thessalians, turned tyrant, and had reigned five years. Alexander was the son of Polydore.

Alexander the king of Macedon\*; and whither he had been invited by those two brothers, to decide their disputes, and assist him who should appear to be injured. Pelopidas, immediately upon his arrival, put an end to all their differences, and recalled all such as had been banished; and taking with him Philip, Alexander's brother, and thirty youths of the chief families in Macedonia for hostages, he brought them to Thebes; shewing the Grecians what authority the Thebans had gained abroad by the reputation of their arms, and the good opinion every where conceived of their justice and integrity. This was that Philip who many years after made war against Greece, with a design to conquer and enslave it. He was then a boy, and was brought up at Thebes with one Pammenes. Hence it was believed, that he proposed Epaminondas as his pattern, and that it was from him he learned his military skill and activity, which were the least parts of that great man's excellencies; but of his temperance, his justice, his magnanimity, and his clemency, which made him truly great, Philip possessed no share at all, either from nature or imitation.

The year following, the Thessalians preferred a second complaint against Alexander the Pherean, for disturbing their peace, and forming designs upon their cities. Pelopidas and Ismenias were sent joint ambassadors thither; but having no expectation of a war, they brought no troops with them from Thebes, so that things taking a contrary turn to what they expected, they were compelled to make use of Thessalians.

At the same time there were fresh commotions in

\* Amyntas II. died, and left three legitimate children, Alexander, Perdiccas, and Philip, and one natural son, whose name was *Ptolemy*. This last made war against Alexander, slew him treacherously, and reigned three years.

Macedonia. Ptolemy had murdered Alexander, and seized his kingdom. The deceased King's friends sent for Pelopidas, and he being willing to espouse their interest, but having no troops of his own at hand, immediately raised some mercenaries, with whom he marched against Ptolemy. When they came near one another, Ptolemy found means to corrupt the mercenaries, and bring them over to his side; but yet fearing the very name and reputation of Pelopidas, he came submissively to him as to a superior, endeavoured to pacify him by entreaties, and solemnly promised to keep the kingdom for the dead king's brothers, and to esteem the friends and enemies of Thebes as his own; and as security for this, he gave his son Philoxenus, and fifty of his companions, hostages. These Pelopidas sent to Thebes; but resenting the treachery of the mercenaries, and understanding that they had lodged the best part of their effects, together with their wives and children, at Pharfalus, he thought the seizing them would be a sufficient revenge for the injury he had received. Whereupon he assembled some Thessalian troops, and marched thither. He was no sooner arrived, but Alexander the tyrant appeared before the place with a considerable army, Pelopidas believing that he came thither to justify himself, and answer the complaints that had been made against him, went to him together with Ismenias, without any further precaution; not that they were ignorant of his being wicked and bloody, but they imagined that the power and authority of Thebes, and their own dignity and reputation would protect them from all violence. However, as soon as the tyrant saw them alone, and unarmed, he took them prisoners, and made himself master of Pharfalus.

This action filled the minds of all his subjects with fears and jealousies; for they thought, that, after so flagrant and daring an injury, he would spare



spare nobody, but behave himself on all occasions, and toward all persons, as one quite desperate, who had thrown off all regard to himself, and his own safety. When the Thebans heard the news of this outrage, they were highly incensed, and immediately sent an army into Thessaly; and Epaminondas happening at that time to lie under their displeasure, they made choice of other generals\*.

In the mean time, the tyrant brought Pelopidas to Pheræ, and at first permitted every body that would to see him; believing that this disaster would humble his spirit, and abate his courage. But when Pelopidas advised the complaining Pheræans to be comforted, assuring them that the tyrant in a short time would meet with the just reward of his crimes, and sent to tell him, *that it was absurd daily to torment and put to death so many innocent worthy citizens, and to spare him, who, he very well knew, if ever he escaped out of his hands, would be sure to make him suffer the punishment he had deserved.* The tyrant surprised at this boldness and magnanimity, answered, *Why is Pelopidas in so much haste to die?* Which being told Pelopidas, he sent him this reply, *It is that thou mayst perish so much the sooner, by becoming still more hateful to the gods than thou art.*

From that time the tyrant forbade any one to see or discourse with him. But Thebe his wife, the daughter of Jason, having been informed by his keepers of the great firmness and intrepidity of Pelopidas, had a desire to see and talk with him. When she came into the prison, she like a woman could not immediately perceive his greatness and

\* They were displeased at him, because in the last expedition against the Lacedæmonians, after the battle that he fought near Corinth, against some troops that disputed his passage, he spared several that he might lawfully have put to the sword. Whereupon his enemies charged him with treachery, got him removed from the government of Bœotia, and caused him to be sent along with their forces, as a private person. *Diodor. lib. 15.*

dignity amidst such an appearance of distress ; but guessing by the meanness of his attire and provision, that he was treated very unworthily, she fell a-weeping. Pelopidas at first not knowing who she was, stood amazed ; but when he understood her quality, he addressed her by her father's name, for Jason and he had been intimate friends ; and when she said, *I pity your wife* ; he replied, *And I you, who being at liberty can endure Alexander*. This saying touched Thebe to the quick ; for she was already provoked by the cruelty and insolence of Alexander, who, beside all his other infamous behaviour, had abused her younger brother to his lust. Going therefore often to see Pelopidas, and complaining freely to him of the outrages she had received, she grew more and more exasperated against her husband.

The Theban generals who came into Thessaly did nothing at all ; but either through ill fortune, or bad conduct were obliged to make a disadvantageous and dishonourable retreat. The Thebans fined each of them ten thousand drachmas, and sent Epaminondas with an army to repair the dishonour.

The fame and reputation of Epaminondas gave new life and courage to the Thessalians, and occasioned great insurrections among them, so that from that time the tyrant's affairs seemed to be in a very desperate condition ; such was the fear that had seized all his officers and friends, so forward were his subjects to revolt, and so universal was the joy at the prospect of that vengeance that seemed ready to overtake him for all his past crimes.

But Epaminondas preferring the safety of Pelopidas to his own reputation, and fearing, if he pushed matters to an extremity at first, the tyrant might grow desperate, like a wild beast, and turn all his fury against his prisoner, did not vigorously prosecute the war, but hovering still over him with his army, he managed the tyrant in such a manner

as neither to lessen his spirit and resolution, nor yet to increase his fierceness and cruelty; for he very well knew his savage disposition, and the little regard he had to reason and justice. He was not ignorant that he had caused some men to be buried alive, and others to be dressed in bears and boars skins, and then baited them with dogs, or shot at them for his diversion. At Melibœa and Scotusa, two cities which were in friendship and alliance with him, he summoned the people to an assembly, and having surrounded them with his guards, he put them all, young and old, to the sword. He consecrated the spear with which he slew his uncle Polyphron, and having crowned it with garlands, offered sacrifice to it as to a god, and gave it the name of *Tychon* \*. Seeing a tragedian once act the Troades of Euripides, he went hastily out of the theatre, but sent to tell the actor *not to be disturbed, but to go on with his part; for he did not go out from any contempt of him, but because he was ashamed his citizens should see him, who never pitied those he murdered, weep at the sufferings of Hecuba and Andromache.*

This cruel tyrant was terrified at the very name and character of Epaminondas;

*And like the craven cock he hung his wings.*

He dispatched an embassy in all haste to offer satisfaction; but Epaminondas refused to admit such a man as an ally to the Thebans; he only allowed him a truce of thirty days; and having recovered Peopidas and Ismenias out of his hands, he marched back with his army.

In the mean time, the Thebans having discovered, that the Spartans and Athenians had sent ambassadors to conclude a league with the king of Persia, sent Pelopidas on their part; whose established reputation fully evidenced the wisdom of their choice. As soon as he entered the Persian domi-

\* i. e. *Fortunate.*



nions, he was universally known and honoured; for the glory he had acquired in the war with the Spartans, did not move slowly or obscurely; but after the fame of the first battle at Leuctra was gone abroad, the report of some new victories continually following, exceedingly increased and spread his reputation. When he arrived at the Persian court, and was seen by the nobles and great officers that waited there, he became the object of their admiration; all of them saying, *This is the man who deprived the Lacedæmonians of their empire both by sea and land, and confined Sparta within the bounds of Taygetus and Eurotas; that Sparta, which a little before, under the conduct of Agesilaus, made war against our great monarch, and threatened the kingdoms of Susa and Ecbatana.* This greatly pleased Artaxerxes, who made it his study to heighten his reputation, by doing him all imaginable honours, on purpose to show, that persons of the most distinguished and illustrious characters made their court, and paid homage to him. But when he had both seen his person, and heard his discourse, which was stronger than that of the Athenian, and plainer than that of the Spartan ambassadors, he conceived a still greater esteem for him; and as kings seldom conceal their inclinations, he made no secret of the great regard he had for him; and this the other ambassadors perceived. He seemed indeed to have done Antalcides the Spartan the greatest honour \*, by sending him a perfumed garland which he himself had worn at an entertainment. But though he did not indeed treat Pelopidas after so familiar and free a manner, the customary presents which he sent him, were as rich and magnificent as possible; he likewise granted all the demands he made; which were; *That the Greeks should*

\* If Plutarch means the Spartan ambassador, he differs from Xenophon, who says that his name was *Euticles*. He likewise tells us, that Timagoras was the person whom the king esteemed next to Pelopidas.

*be free and independent, that Messene should be repeopled, and that the Thebans should be always reckoned the king's hereditary friends.*

Having received so favourable an answer, he returned home, without accepting any other of the presents, than what served as a pledge of the king's favour and good-will towards him; and this behaviour of Pelopidas aggravated the reproach which fell on the other ambassadors. The Athenians tried and executed Timagoras; and indeed if they did it for receiving so many presents from the king, their sentence was just and reasonable; for he not only took gold and silver, but a rich bed, and slaves to make it; as if that had been an art unknown to the Greeks. Beside this, he received fourscore cows, and herdsmen to look after them, as if he wanted milk for some distemper; and last of all, when he left the court, he was carried in a chair as far as the sea-coast, at the king's expense, who paid four talents for his carriage. But it is probable the presents he received, were not the principal cause of the displeasure of the Athenians; for when Epicrates \* confessed in a public assembly of the people, that he himself had received presents from the king of Persia, and talked of proposing a decree, that instead of chusing nine archons every year, twelve of the poorest citizens should be sent yearly as ambassadors to Persia, to be enriched by the king's presents, the people only laughed at it. What exasperated the Athenians most, was, that the Thebans had obtained all they desired †; in which they laid

\* In the original he is called *παραφύλαξ*, or *porter*. But it being improbable that a man in so mean a station should receive presents from the king of Persia, or should speak in the assembly of the people at Athens, Palmerius justly reads *σχινοφύλαξ*, or *shield-bearer*, upon the authority of Harpocration and the scholiast of Aristophanes, who both say, that Epicrates was an orator who had obtained the name of *σχινοφύλαξ*; and the latter of them tells us that his long beard gave occasion to this appellation.

† Plutarch does not give us here the true reason which Xenophon assigns,

laid too little stress on the great reputation of Pelopidas, not considering that his fame had more weight, than all the oratory of the other ambassadors, with a prince who always favoured the most successful and victorious.

The affection and esteem of the Thebans for Pelopidas, was not a little increased by this embassy, in which he procured the freedom of Greece and the re-establishment of Messene.

Alexander, the Pherean tyrant, returning at this time to his natural disposition, had destroyed several cities of Thessaly, and put garrisons into those of the Phthiotæ, the Achæans, and the Magnesians; who hearing that Pelopidas was returned, sent deputies to Thebes, to desire the assistance of some forces, and him for their general. The Thebans readily granted their request. But when all things were prepared, and the general was just ready to march, on a sudden the sun was eclipsed, and the whole city of Thebes covered with darkness at mid-day. Pelopidas seeing the people much surprised at this phenomenon, did not think fit to compel the army to march while they were in such a consternation, nor to hazard the lives of seven thousand of his fellow-citizens; but committing himself wholly to the Thessalians, and taking with him only three hundred horse, composed of Thebans and strangers, who offered themselves as volunteers, he departed, contrary to the opinion of the soothsayers and the rest of the citizens, who endeavoured to hinder him, believing that the eclipse portended something extraordinary, and boded ill to this great man. But Pelopidas, besides being urged by his resentment for the injuries he had re-

assigns, why the Athenians put Timagoras to death, which was, that Leon, his colleague in that embassy, had accused him, at his return, of refusing to lodge with him, and of keeping a correspondence with Pelopidas. For indeed he had confirmed all that Pelopidas had said to the advantage of the Thebans,

ceived,



ceived, hoped, from the conversation he formerly had with Thebe, to find great disorders and divisions in the tyrant's own family. But that which excited him most to this undertaking was the glory of the action itself; for his whole aim and ambition was, to let all the Grecians see, that at the same time, when the Spartans sent officers and generals to Dionysius the Sicilian tyrant, and the Athenians were kept in pay by Alexander, and had erected a brazen statue in honour of him, as a benefactor, the Thebans were the only people that waged war to succour the distressed, and to exterminate all arbitrary and unjust government out of Greece.

After he had assembled his forces at Pharsalus, he marched against the tyrant; who finding that Pelopidas had but few Thebans, and that his own infantry was more than double the number of the Thessalians, went to meet him as far as the temple of Thetis: and when it was told Pelopidas that the tyrant was advancing towards him with a prodigious army, he said, *So much the better, we shall beat so many the more.*

Near the place called *Cynoscephalæ*, there were two steep hills opposite to one another, in the middle of the plain. Both sides strove to get possession of these two hills with their foot; and at the same time Pelopidas ordered his horse, which were very numerous and good, to charge the enemy's cavalry, which they presently routed, and pursued over the plain. But Alexander had gained the hills before the Thessalian foot could reach them, and falling fiercely upon such of them as attempted to force those ascents, he killed the foremost of them, and wounded so many of those that followed, that they were obliged to give way. Pelopidas seeing this, called back his horse, and ordered them to attack such of the enemy as still kept their ground; and taking his shield in his hand, made what haste he could to join those that fought about the hills; and

G g 3

advancing

advancing to the front, filled his men with such courage and alacrity, that the enemy imagined they came with other spirits and other bodies to the onset. They stood two or three charges; but when they found the Thessalian foot still press forward, and perceived the horse returning from the pursuit, they began to give ground. Pelopidas at the same time viewing, from an ascent, the enemy's army, which did not yet in reality fly, but began to fall into disorder, stopped for a while, casting his eyes every way to find out Alexander. As soon as he perceived him in the right wing, rallying and encouraging his mercenaries, he was no longer master of himself, but inflamed at the sight, and sacrificing both his safety and his duty as a general to his passion, he advanced far before his soldiers, crying out, and challenging the tyrant, who did not dare to meet him, but retreating, hid himself amongst his guards. The foremost of the mercenaries that came hand to hand were cut down by Pelopidas, but others fighting at a distance, pierced his armour with their javelins, and mortally wounded him. The Thessalians seeing him in this danger, made haste from the hills to his assistance; but when they came to the place where he was, they found him dead upon the ground. At the same time both horse and foot pressing hard upon the enemy, entirely routed them, pursuing them a great way, and covering the plain with more than three thousand dead bodies. The Thebans who were then present, expressed the greatest concern imaginable at Pelopidas's death, calling him their *father, saviour, and instructor, in every thing that was great and honourable*. And it is no wonder they did so, when the Thessalians and allies, after they had exceeded, by their edicts in his favour, the greatest honours that are due to human virtues, gave still more undeniable proofs of their love to him by their grief; for the whole army, when they understood he was dead, neither

neither put off their armour, unbridled their horses, nor dressed their wounds, but, notwithstanding their heat and fatigue, ran all immediately to him, as if he had been still alive, heaped up the spoils of the enemy about his dead body, and cut off their horses manes, and their own hair; and many of them when they retired to their tents, neither kindled a fire nor took any refreshment; but a general silence, consternation, and grief reigned throughout the army, as if they had not gained a very great and glorious victory, but had been defeated and enslaved by the tyrant.

In all the cities through which his body was carried, the magistrates, young men, children, and priests came out to meet it with trophies, crowns, and golden armour. And when the time of his interment was come, the oldest men among the Thesfalians begged the Thebans to allow them to bury him. One of them upon this occasion made the following speech: *Friends and allies, we ask a favour of you, which will be a very singular honour and consolation to us in this great misfortune. It is not Pelopidas alive the Thessalians desire to attend; it is not to Pelopidas, sensible of what is done to him, they desire to pay the honours due to his merit: no; all we ask is the permission to wash, adorn, and inter his dead body; and if we obtain this, we shall then think you are persuaded that we esteem our share in this common calamity greater than yours. You, it is true, have lost an excellent general; but we, with the loss of a general have lost all hopes of liberty; for how shall we dare to desire another of you, since we cannot restore Pelopidas?*

The Thebans granted their request: and never was a more splendid funeral seen; at least in the opinion of those who do not think that magnificence consists in gold, ivory, and purple, like Philistus \*,  
who

\* He was both an historian and a soldier. He had served under Dionysius the elder, whose life he wrote in six books. He served likewise



who made a splendid encomium on the funeral of Dionysius the tyrant, which, to speak properly, was only like the pompous catastrophe of that bloody tragedy, his tyranny. Alexander the Great, at the death of Hephæstion, did not only cut off the manes of his horses and mules, but took down the battlements from the walls of cities, that even the towns might seem mourners, and instead of their former beauteous appearance, look dejected at his funeral: but such kinds of pomp and magnificence not being free and voluntary, but the injunctions of arbitrary power, are attended with envy towards him in whose honour they are performed, and with hatred against him who commands them, and are far from being proofs of a sincere love and esteem; they only show the barbarous pride, luxury, and vanity of those who lavish their wealth to such vain and contemptible purposes. But that a man of common rank, dying in a strange country, neither his wife, children, nor kinsmen present, none either desiring or ordering it, should be attended, buried, and crowned by so many cities, that strove to exceed one another in the demonstrations of their love, seems to be the height of happiness. For the observation of Æsop is not true, *that death is most unfortunate in the time of prosperity and success*; on the contrary, it is then most happy, because it secures to good men the glory of their virtuous actions, and advances them above the power of fortune. And that Spartan's advice was better founded, who embracing Diagoras after he himself, his sons, and grandsons had all conquered and been crowned in the Olympic games, said to him, *Die, Diagoras, die quickly, for thou canst not be a god*. And yet is there any one that will pretend to compare all the victories in the Pythian and Olympic games, with one of those enterprises of Pelopidas, wife under Dionysius the younger; and having been defeated by Dion,

in

in all which he was constantly victorious ? So that after he had spent the greatest part of his life in great and glorious actions, and had been thirteen times named governor of Bœotia, he died at last in a noble attempt to extirpate tyranny, and restore the liberties of Thessaly.

If his death occasioned great grief, it brought greater advantage to the allies ; for no sooner were the Thebans advertised of it, but, prompted by a desire of revenge, they immediately sent to their assistance an army of seven thousand foot, and seven hundred horse, under the command of Malcitus and Diogiton, who falling upon Alexander, who was already much weakened and reduced to great difficulties, compelled him to restore those cities he had taken from the Thessalians, to withdraw his garrisons from the Magnesians, Phthiotæ, and Achæans, and to engage by oath to afford the Thebans at all times whatever assistance they should demand. The Thebans were satisfied with these conditions ; but punishment soon followed the tyrant for his wickedness, and the death of Pelopidas was revenged in this manner.

He, as we mentioned before, had taught Thebe not to respect the exterior show and pomp of tyranny, notwithstanding she was surrounded by the tyrant's guards. She therefore fearing the falsehood, and hating the cruelty of her husband, conspired with her three brothers, Tisiphonus, Pytholaus, and Lycophron \*, to kill him ; and they put their design in execution after this manner. The whole palace at night was full of guards, except the tyrant's bedchamber, which was an upper room, and the door of this apartment was guarded by a dog who was chained there, and who would

\* Tisiphonus was the eldest, and as such succeeded Alexander, and reigned at the time that Xenophon wrote the history of this affair ; but Xenophon died the year following, which was the first or second year of the hundred and fifth Olympiad.

fly at all but the tyrant and his wife, and one slave that constantly fed him. When the time appointed was come, Thebe hid her brothers all day in a room hard by ; and going alone into Alexander's chamber whilst he was asleep, as she used to do, she came out again in a little time, and commanded the slave to lead away the dog, saying her husband had a mind to sleep without being disturbed ; and that the stairs might make no noise as her brothers came up, she covered them with wool. All things being thus prepared, she fetched up her brothers softly ; and, leaving them at the door with poniards in their hands, went into the chamber, and presently returned with the tyrant's sword that hung at the head of his bed, and showed it them as a proof that he was fast asleep. Being now upon the point of execution, the young men appeared terrified, and durst not proceed ; which so enraged Thebe, that she reproached them for their cowardice, and with oaths declared she would go and awake the tyrant, and discover their whole plot. When shame and fear had brought them to themselves again, and they had resumed their former resolution, she led them into the chamber, and, with a light in her hand, conducted them to her husband's bed. One of them caught him fast by his feet, another by the hair of his head, while the third stabbed him with his poniard. His death may perhaps be thought too quick and easy for so cruel and detestable a monster ; but if it be considered that he was the first tyrant that ever fell by the contrivance of his own wife, and that his dead body was exposed to all kind of indignities, and spurned and trodden under foot by his own subjects, his punishment will appear adequate to his innumerable oppressions and cruelties.



# T H E L I F E O F M A R C E L L U S.

**M**Arcus Claudius, who was five times consul, was the son of Marcus, and the first of his family that was called *Marcellus* \*, that is *martial*, as Posidonius affirms. He was by long experience skilled in the art of war, and by nature hardy, active, and daring; but his fierceness and impetuosity appeared only in battle, on all other occasions he was modest, courteous, and humane. He was fond of the Grecian learning and eloquence, and admired and honoured all that excelled in them; but he did not make a progress in them himself, equal to his desires, because his other employments took him off from a close application. If ever God designed that any men

*Should lead their lives in fierce and endless war,*

as Homer says, they were undoubtedly the principal Romans of that age. In their infancy they had the Carthaginians to contend with for Sicily; in their middle age, the Gauls for Italy itself; and in their old age they were obliged to contend again with the Carthaginians and Hannibal. Nor

\* The Romans were very fond of names and surnames derived from Mars, from whom they reckoned themselves descended; from thence came the names, *Marcus*, *Marcus*, *Mamers*, *Mamercus*, and *Marcellus*.

were

were they allowed the common privilege of age to excuse them from the wars, their merits and valour continually calling them forth to military commands.

As for Marcellus, he was admirably skilled in all kinds of fighting; but in single combat, he even surpassed himself. He never refused a challenge, or failed of killing those that challenged him. In Sicily, seeing his brother Otacilius once in danger, he threw his shield over him, slew all those who attacked him, and so saved his life. For that and other honourable achievements, he received from the generals, while very young, crowns and other presents, as rewards of his valour. His reputation daily increasing, the people chose him curule ædile, and the priests created him augur. This is a kind of sacerdotal office, to which the law assigns the superintendence of that kind of divination which is taken from the flight of birds.

While he was in the former of these offices, he was obliged, contrary to his inclination, to bring a criminal accusation before the senate. He had a son of his own name, who was very young, but of such extraordinary beauty and accomplishments, and of so virtuous a disposition, that he was universally admired. Capitolinus, Marcellus's colleague, a very insolent and vitious man, fell in love with this youth, and attempted to seduce him. At first, the youth of himself rejected all his offers, without acquainting any one; but when the other repeated his solicitations, he discovered the matter to his father. Marcellus, highly enraged at such an affront, accused Capitolinus before the senate. Capitolinus made use of all kind of arts and evasions to get judgment deferred, and at last appealed from the senate to the tribunes. But they refusing to receive his appeal, he defended himself by a flat denial of the charge. As there was no witness of the fact, the

the senate ordered the youth himself to be brought before them, and to be examined. As soon as ever he appeared, his blushes, tears, and bashfulness, mixed with indignation and resentment, convinced them without further proof; and they condemned Capitolinus to pay a considerable fine to Marcellus; which he converted into a silver exchange-table\*, and consecrated it to the gods.

Soon after the first Punic war, which had lasted twenty-two years †, Rome became engaged in a new war against the Gauls. The Insubrians, a people of Celtic extraction, who inhabit that part of Italy which borders on the Alps, though very powerful in themselves, applied to their neighbours for assistance, and particularly to those called *Gesatæ*, who used to hire out themselves for pay. It seemed indeed strange, and very fortunate for the Ro-

\* Perhaps to show that this happened during the time of his being curule ædile; for it was the duty of that office to superintend every thing relating to commerce. At the same time I confess myself a stranger to the word *Αργυρομοιβία*, which I have never seen any where else. In some manuscripts it is *ἀργυρᾶ λοιβεία*, which he converted into silver cruets or vases: this seems a better reading. *Λοιβεία* were little vessels made use of in sacrifices, and were likewise called *λοιβίδες*, and *σπονδεία*.

† Plutarch in this place confounds the time a little. The first Punic war lasted four and twenty years; for it began in the four hundred and eighty-ninth year from the building of Rome, and the treaty with the Carthaginians was made in the five hundred and twelfth. The Gauls continued quiet all that time, and did not begin to stir till four years after. They advanced as far as Ariminum; but the Boii mutinying against their leaders, slew the kings Ates and Galates; after which, falling out among themselves, and fighting against one another, sometimes one party overcame, and sometimes another; and they that were left alive returned home. Five years after this, the Gauls began to make preparations for a new war, on account of the division which Flaminius had made of the lands belonging to the Piceni, which he had taken from the Senones in Gallia Cisalpina. These preparations were carrying on a long time, and it was eight years after that division, before the war began in earnest under their leaders Congolitanus and Aneroestes, when L. Æmilius Pappus, and C. Atilius Regulus were consuls, in the five hundred and twenty eighth year of Rome, and the third year of the one hundred and thirty-eighth Olympiad. *Polyb. l. 2.*



mans, that they did not happen to be engaged in this Gallic war before that against the Carthaginians was concluded, but that the Gauls continued quiet all that time, as if they had really waited to take up the conqueror, and would not attack the Romans till they had gained the victory, and had no other enemy to cope with. However, the near neighbourhood as well as ancient renown and bravery of the Gauls struck the Romans with great terror; for they were indeed the enemy they dreaded most, having not forgot how they had formerly made themselves masters of Rome; from which time it was provided by law, that the priests should be excused from taking arms, except only to defend the city against the Gauls.

The vast preparations made by the Romans on this occasion, (for it is said so many thousand of them were never seen in arms at once, either before or since), as well as their new and extraordinary sacrifices, plainly showed the apprehensions they were under. For though they had received none of the barbarous rites of other nations, but imitated the mild and humane customs of the Greeks in their religious worship, yet at the appearance of this war, in obedience to some prophecies contained in the books of the Sibyls, they thought themselves obliged to bury alive, in the place which is called the *beast-market*, two Greeks, a man and a woman, and likewise two Gauls, one of each sex \*. These sacrifices gave rise to certain private and mysterious ceremonies, which still continue to be annually performed in the month of November.

\* They offered the same sacrifice at the beginning of the second Punic war, which followed this: for Livy mentions these two sacrifices, *lib. xxii. 57. Interim ex fatalibus libris sacrificia aliquot extraordinaria facta, inter quæ Gallus et Galla, Græcus et Græca in foro Boario sub terra vivi demissi sunt in locum saxo conseptum, ibi ante, hostiis humanis, minime Romano sacro imbutum.* The words *ibi, ante, &c.* refer to the sacrifice that was offered at the beginning of the war against the Gauls, which is here mentioned by Plutarch.

In the beginning of this war, the Romans sometimes gained very signal victories, and were as often shamefully defeated \*; but neither good nor bad success was available to put a final period to the war, till C. Quintius Flaminius and P. Furius Philo, being consuls, marched against the Infubrians with a powerful army. It was then reported, that the river which runs through the country of Picenum was turned into blood, and that three moons were seen at Ariminum at the same time. The priests, whose business it was to observe the flying of birds at the time of choosing the consuls, declared that the election of those two was unduly and inauspiciously made. Hereupon the senate immediately dispatched letters to the army, expressly forbidding the consuls to attempt any thing against the enemy in that capacity, and injoining them to return with all speed to Rome, in order to lay down their office. Flaminius having received these letters, deferred opening them till he had fought and defeated the enemy, and ravaged their whole country; after which he marched towards Rome. But though he carried a prodigious booty home with him, yet none of the people went out to meet him; nay they had like to have denied him the honour of a triumph, because he did not instantly obey the senate, but slighted and despised their orders. And as soon as ever the triumph was ended, both he and his colleague were deposed from their office, and reduced to the condition of private citizens: such a respect had the Romans for religion, making all their affairs depend solely on the pleasure of the gods; never suffering, no not in their greatest prosperity, the least neglect or contempt of their ancient rites or oracles; being fully persuaded that it was of much greater import-

\* C. Atilius Regulus was slain in a battle; on the enemy's side Congolitanus, one of their kings, was killed at the same time, and Ancroestes, the other other king, killed himself out of despair.

ance to the public welfare that their magistrates and generals should reverence and obey the gods, than that they should conquer their enemies. Tiberius Sempronius, who for his fortitude and other virtues was so highly beloved and esteemed by the Romans, when he was consul, named Scipio Nafica and Caius Marcius Figulus his successors. When these two consuls were gone into their respective provinces, Sempronius happening to light upon some books containing directions relating to sacred rites and customs, found out a certain particular which he never knew before ; it was this : *Whenever the magistrate went out of the city, and sat down in a house or tent hired for that purpose, to observe the flight of birds, if it happened for any cause whatsoever that he was obliged to return into the city before he had finished his observations, he was not to make use of that lodge again, but to take another, and there begin his observations anew.* Sempronius was ignorant of this, when he named those two consuls, for he had twice made use of the same place. But when he came afterwards to understand his mistake, he declared it to the senate ; they, trifling as that circumstance might seem to be, did not neglect it, but immediately wrote to the consuls ; who, leaving their provinces, returned to Rome, and resigned the consulship. But these things happened afterwards.

About this time, two priests of the best families in Rome, Cornelius Cethegus and Quintus Sulpicius, were degraded from the priesthood ; the former for not having exposed in a proper manner the entrails of a beast slain in sacrifice ; and the latter, because, while he was sacrificing, the tuft which the priests called *Flamines* wear on the top of their caps, fell off. And because a rat was heard to cry the very moment that Minucius the dictator \* na-

\* Plutarch is mistaken in this place ; for Q. Fabius Maximus was dictator, and not Minucius,



med Caius Flaminius general of the horse, the people obliged them both to quit their posts, and chose others in their stead. But, notwithstanding their exactness in the most minute circumstances, they kept free from superstition, because they observed only their ancient customs, without change or innovation.

Flaminius and his colleague being thus deposed from the consulate, the Roman magistrates, called *Interreges* \*, chose Marcellus in their room; who, as soon as he entered upon his office, chose Cneius Cornelius for his colleague. The Gauls sent ambassadors to propose a treaty of peace, and the senate seemed inclined to it; but the people, by the instigation of Marcellus, were desirous of war. However, a peace was at last concluded; which, it is said, the *Gesatæ* broke soon after; who, to the number of 30,000, passing the Alps, joined the *Insubrians*, who were still more numerous; and relying on their numbers, advanced boldly as far as *Acerræ* †, a city situated between the Po and the Alps, that was besieged by the Romans. From thence King *Viridomarus* taking with him 10,000 of the *Gesatæ*, ravaged the whole country near the Po.

Marcellus having received an account of their march, left his colleague before *Acerræ*, with all the heavy-armed infantry, and a third part of the horse; and taking with him the rest of the horse, and 600 of the lightest foot, he pursued the 10,000 *Gesatæ* night and day without intermission, till at last he came up with them near *Clastidium*, a small town in Gaul, which a little before had been

\* These were magistrates appointed in an inter-regnum, to name a king; and in the times of the republic, when there were no legal officers in being, these interreges had a right of naming them.

† The Gauls not being able to relieve the place, passed the Po with part of their army, and laid siege to *Clastidium*, to make a diversion. Vide Polyb. l. 2.

brought under subjection to the Romans. He had not time to refresh his troops, or give them rest; for the Barbarians were soon advertised of his arrival; and seeing the small number of his foot, and making little account of his horse, they reckoned themselves secure of victory. For these, as well as all the other Gauls, being excellent horsemen, thought they had the advantage in that respect, especially as they found themselves superior in number to Marcellus. They marched therefore directly against him with great fury, and uttering dreadful menaces, as though they had been sure of carrying their point without opposition; Viridomarus their king riding at their head. Marcellus, because his troops were but few, that they might not be encompassed by the enemy, extended his wings of cavalry, thinning and widening them by degrees, till at last his front was nearly equal to that of the enemy. When he had done this, and was advancing to the charge, his horse, frightened at the shouts and noise of the Gauls, turned short on a sudden, and, in spite of all his endeavours to the contrary, carried him back. Marcellus fearing that this motion might be superstitiously taken for an ill omen, and so dishearten his men, took his horse by the bridle and turned him quite round, and then returning to his former station, adored the sun; making them believe that this wheeling about was not an involuntary accident, but a designed act of devotion; for it was customary with the Romans to turn round when they worshipped the gods. When he was upon the very point of engaging with the Gauls, he made a vow that he would consecrate to Jupiter Feretrius the best of the arms that should be taken from the enemy. At that very instant the king of the Gauls spying him, and guessing from the ensigns of authority, that he was the Roman general, spurred his horse forward, and brandishing his spear, loudly challenged him to the combat. He was superior

perior in stature to all the rest of the Gauls, and had on that day a suit of armour adorned with gold and silver, and variegated with the most lively colours, so that it shone like lightning. Whilst Marcellus was viewing the disposition of the enemy's forces, he cast his eyes upon that armour, and concluding from the richness of it, that this was the armour which he had vowed to Jupiter, he rode against Viridomarus with all his might, and with his spear pierced his breast-plate; at the same time by the strength of his horse he overset him, and threw him on the ground; and pursuing his blow, at the second or third stroke killed him outright: then leaping from his horse, he disarmed him, and taking his arms and lifting them up towards heaven, he said, *O Jupiter Feretrius, who from on high beholdest the valiant exploits of captains and commanders in the day of battle, I call thee to witness that I am the third Roman general who have with my own hands slain a general and a king: to thee I consecrate these first and most excellent of the spoils; do thou be propitious, and crown our actions with the like success in the prosecution of this war.*

When he had finished his prayer, the Roman horse began the charge, encountering both the enemy's horse and foot at the same time; and, notwithstanding the inequality of their numbers, obtained a victory complete in its kind, and almost incredible in its circumstances. For never before or since did a handful of horse give so entire a defeat to such a superior force, both of horse and foot, as were then drawn up in battle against them. Marcellus having slain the greatest part of the enemy, and taken all their arms and baggage, marched back to join his colleague \*, who had not such good

\* Scipio his colleague took Acerra; whereupon the Gauls retreating to Milan, Scipio pursued them; but in his return back he met with a misfortune, which, however, he soon repaired. The Gauls  
fell



good success in his undertaking against the Gauls before Milan, which is a very large city, well inhabited, and the capital of all that country. The Gauls defended this place with such obstinacy and resolution, that Scipio, instead of besieging it, seemed rather besieged himself. But upon the return of Marcellus, the Gesatæ understanding that their king was slain, and his army defeated, withdrew their forces in all haste; and so Milan was taken, and the Gauls delivered up their other cities to the Romans, who granted them a peace on reasonable conditions.

The senate made a decree, that only Marcellus should have the honour of a triumph; and, for the quantity and richness of the spoils, the prodigious stature of the captives, and the pomp and magnificence of all kinds, it was one of the most splendid that had ever been seen. But the most singular and agreeable sight of all was Marcellus himself, bearing in triumph the complete armour of the vanquished barbarian, which he had vowed to Jupiter. He had cut a branch of a large oak in the form of a trophy; to this he fastened the armour, disposing every part in an apt and natural order. When the procession began to move, he ascended his triumphal chariot, and passed through the city with the trophy on his shoulders, which was the noblest ornament of the whole triumph. The army closed the procession in bright armour, singing songs of triumph, and celebrating the praises of Jupiter and their general.

Being arrived at the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, he there fixed and dedicated his trophy, being the third, and, as yet, the last Roman general who claimed that honour. The first was Romulus, af-

fell upon his rear, which they cut to pieces, and routed part of his army. But Scipio turning short upon them, stopped the fugitives, wrested the victory out of the hands of the Gauls, and marching back to Milan, took it by storm. And there it was that Marcellus joined him,

ter he had slain Acron king of the Cæninenſes; Cornelius Coſſus, who ſlew Volumnius the Tuſcan, was the ſecond; and the third and laſt was Marcellus. The god to whom they conſecrated theſe ſpoils, was Jupiter, ſurnamed *Feretrius*, (as ſome ſay), from the Greek word *Pheretron*, ſignifying a car, on which the trophy was borne in triumph; the Greek language being at that time very much mixed with the Latin. Others affirm that *Feretrius* ſignifies the ſame as *Thunderer*, being derived from *Ferire*, which in the Roman language ſignifies *to ſtrike*. Laſtly, there are others who are of opinion that this name is taken from the ſtrokes given in battle; for even now when the Romans charge or purſue an enemy, they by way of encouragement call out to one another, *Feri, feri*, that is, *ſtrike, kill*. They gave the general name of *Spoils* to whatever is taken from the enemy in war; but thoſe which their general took from the chief commander of the enemy's army, after he had ſlain him with his own hands, had the particular appellation of *rich* or *Opime Spoils*. But, notwithſtanding this, ſome authors write that Numa Pompilius in his commentaries makes mention of firſt, ſecond, and third *Opime Spoils*, and orders that the firſt ſhould be conſecrated to Jupiter Feretrius, the ſecond to Mars, and the third to Quirinus; as alſo that the reward of the firſt ſhould be three hundred *aſſes*, of the ſecond two hundred, and of the third a hundred. But the moſt general opinion is, that the only ſpoils to which this honourable name is given, are thoſe which the general takes in a pitched battle, and from the enemy's general, whom he has ſlain with his own hand. But of this matter enough \*.

This victory and the concluſion of the war cauſed ſo much joy among the Roman people, that

\* See more upon this ſubject in the life of Romulus, and the notes, vol. I. p. 130.

they

they ordered a golden cup to be made and presented to Apollo at Delphi, as a testimony of their gratitude; they divided a great part of the booty among the confederate cities which had sided with them, and likewise sent considerable presents to Hiero King of Syracuse, their friend and ally.

Some time after this, Hannibal having made an irruption into Italy, Marcellus was sent with a fleet to Sicily: and two years after happened the unfortunate defeat at Cannæ, in which many thousands of the Romans were slain, and the few that escaped, retired to Canusium; and it was very much feared, that Hannibal, when he had thus destroyed the strength of the Roman forces, would march directly with his victorious troops to Rome. Whereupon Marcellus sent fifteen hundred of his men by sea to guard the city; and by order of the senate repaired to Canusium; where having put himself at the head of those troops that had retired thither after the battle, he brought them all out of their intrenchments, being resolved to defend the country from being ravaged by the enemy.

The wars had by this time carried off the chief of the Roman nobility, and most of their commanders. Fabius Maximus indeed was still left, a man of singular worth and great capacity. But his extraordinary precaution and solicitude to avoid the least risk or loss, passed for a defect in courage, and slowness in execution. The Romans therefore looking upon him as a person proper to provide for their defence, but by no means fit to attack an enemy, applied themselves to Marcellus, and wisely tempering his active forwardness and daring courage with the slow cautious conduct of Fabius, they often chose them consuls together, and sometimes sent them, one as consul, and the other as proconsul, against the enemy. For this reason it was, as Posidonius writes, that Fabius was called the *Buckler*, and Marcellus the *Sword of the Roman state*.  
And



And Hannibal himself used to say *he stood in fear of Fabius as his schoolmaster, and of Marcellus as his adversary*; for the latter would hurt him, and the former hinder him from doing hurt.

Hannibal's soldiers, after their victory, growing dissolute and careless, often straggled in parties about the country in search of plunder; where Marcellus fell upon them frequently, and cut off great numbers, and thus by little and little diminished the enemy's forces. After this, he went to the relief of Naples and Nola, and having encouraged the Neapolitans, and confirmed them in the good disposition they were in towards the Romans, he entered Nola, where he found great divisions, the senate being unable to restrain the people, who were strongly in the interest of Hannibal. There was in the town a person highly renowned for his personal valour as well as noble birth, whose name was *Bandius*, and who had remarkably distinguished himself at the battle of Cannæ; where, after having slain a great number of Carthaginians, he was found at last, upon a heap of dead bodies covered with wounds. Hannibal admiring his courage, contracted a friendship with him, dismissed him without any ransom, and at his departure loaded him with presents. Bandius, out of gratitude, espoused Hannibal's interest with great zeal, and endeavoured all he could to bring over the people to his side. Marcellus thought it unjust and dishonourable to put so eminent a man to death, who had fought so often for the Romans, and exposed his life in their cause. Besides, he had so much affability and sweetness of behaviour joined with his natural humanity, that he could hardly fail of engaging the affection of a man of a great and generous spirit. Wherefore one day when Bandius went to visit him, Marcellus asked him who he was; not that he was unacquainted with him before, but that he might have an opportunity to introduce what he  
had

had a mind to say; and when Bandius had told him his name, Marcellus, seeming to be highly pleased and surpris'd, said to him, *How! art thou the Bandius so much talk'd of at Rome for his brave behaviour at the battle of Cannæ; who not only did not desert Paulus Æmilius the consul, but even received into his body several arrows aimed at that general?* Bandius owning himself to be that very person, and shewing his wounds and scars; *Why then,* said Marcellus, *since you have given us so many proofs of your friendship, would you not come to me at my first arrival? Do you think I can be ungrateful to a friend who is honoured even by his enemies?* When he had ended this obliging discourse, he embraced him, and made him a present of a fine war-horse, and five hundred drachmas in silver. From that time, Bandius never left him, but appeared very zealous in discovering the designs of those who were of the contrary party. These were indeed very numerous, and had formed a conspiracy, when the Romans were gone out of the city to fight the enemy, to plunder all their waggons and baggage. Marcellus being advertis'd of this conspiracy, drew up his army in order of battle within the city, placed the baggage near the gates, and published an edict, forbidding any of the inhabitants to appear upon the walls. By this means Hannibal was deceived; for seeing the walls quite abandoned, he did not doubt but there was a great sedition in the city, and in that persuasion marched up to it with the less order and precaution. At that very moment, Marcellus commanded that gate of the city, which was directly before him to be opened; and issuing out with the best of his horse, he charged the enemy in front. Soon after, a second gate was opened, through which the infantry poured forth with loud shouts; and as Hannibal was going to divide his troops to make head against these last, a third gate was opened, at which issued out all the rest of the Roman forces, who fell furiously upon

upon the enemy ; they were surpris'd at this unexpected fall, and made but a faint resistance against those with whom they had been first engaged, by reason of their being warmly attacked by a second body.

This was the first time Hannibal's troops fled before the Roman legions ; they were driven back to their camp in great consternation, and with prodigious havock ; for Hannibal is said to have lost more than five thousand men, and Marcellus not above five hundred. Livy does not make this defeat, or the numbers slain on the enemy's side, to be so considerable ; he only allows that this success raised the glory of Marcellus very high, and inspired the Romans with new courage in the midst of their misfortunes, by letting them see that the enemy they fought against was not invincible. Upon the death of one of the consuls \*, the people called home Marcellus, who was absent at that time, to fill his place, and, in spite of the magistrates, caused the election to be deferred till his return †. As soon as he arrived, he was unanimously chosen consul ; but it happening to thunder at that time, the augurs

\* This was L. Posthumius Albinus, nominated for consul with Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus ; he was slain with his whole army, by the Gauls, and after a very particular manner. He being obliged to pass through a certain forest called the *Litanean forest*, the Gauls had cut all the trees in it near the road he was to pass, after such a manner, that they still continued standing, but with the least motion would all of them tumble down. When Albinus was arrived in the forest with his army, consisting of twenty-five thousand men, the Gauls, who lay hid, set the trees that were near them in motion, which falling on the next to them, and they on the next, and so on, they all tumbled down almost at the very same time, overwhelming and killing both men and horses. Those that escaped this snare were killed by the Gauls, among whom was the consul himself. The Gauls cut off his head, and emptying his skull, set it in gold, to be used for libations at their feasts. *Livy* xxiii. 24. This happened some months after the battle at Cannæ.

† The senate having sent him into Campania to exchange armies, the people believed they had sent him away on purpose that he might not be present at the election, and therefore were resolved to defer it till his return. *Livy* xxiii. 13.



plainly saw that the election was faulty, but yet durst not oppose it openly for fear of the people; however, Marcellus laid down the office voluntarily: but this did not hinder him from continuing the command of the army; for he was elected præconful, and returned immediately to Nola, where he chastised all those who had declared for the Carthaginians in his absence \*. Hannibal made haste to their assistance, and offered Marcellus battle, which he refused. But some days after †, when he found that Hannibal, no longer expecting a battle, had sent the greatest part of his army to forage and plunder, he attacked him vigorously, having first furnished his foot with such long spears as are used on shipboard, and likewise taught them how to wound the enemy with them at a distance; while the Carthaginians fought only with very short swords or darts, which they were unskilled in throwing. For this reason all those who attempted to make head against them, were forced to turn their backs, and fled in confusion, leaving 5000 slain upon the field of battle ‡; beside four elephants killed, and two taken alive. But what was of still greater consequence, the third day after the battle, above three hundred horse ||, Spaniards and Numidians, came over to Marcel-

\* He immediately caused the heads of seventy of the inhabitants of Nola to be cut off, and confiscated their estates to the use of the Roman state. Plutarch speaks here of the ravages committed by Marcellus in the country of the Hirpines and Samnites, where he destroyed every thing with fire and sword. *Livy* xxiii. 41.

† Two days before this, there was a battle before the walls of Nola; for Hannibal coming up to make a general attack upon the city, Marcellus sallied out, and overthrew all that opposed him. The dispute would have been very sharp, had not a violent storm happened that separated the combatants. *Livy* xxiii. 44.

‡ “There were more than five thousand men killed. Six hundred prisoners were taken, eighteen standards, and two elephants, beside four elephants that were killed. On the Roman side, there were not a thousand slain.” *Livy* xxiii. 46.

|| *Livy* makes them a thousand two hundred and seventy-two. It is therefore probable that we should read in this place, *one thousand three hundred horse*,

lus;

lus; a misfortune which had never befallen Hannibal till that time: for though his army was composed of men of several barbarous nations, as different in their manners as language, he had ever till then preserved a good understanding and strict concord among them. These deserters always continued inviolably faithful to Marcellus, and the generals who commanded after him.

Marcellus being a third time created consul \*, passed over into Sicily; for Hannibal's great success had so swelled the hopes of the Carthaginians, that they entertained thoughts of reconquering that island; and especially since the death of the tyrant Hieronymus † had thrown every thing into confusion at Syracuse; wherefore the Romans had already sent an army thither, under the command of Appius Claudius ‡.

As

\* In the second year of the 141st Olympiad, the 539th year of Rome, and 212 years before the birth of Christ. Plutarch forgets here a third victory that Marcellus gained over Hannibal before Nola. Having learned that Hannibal was marching again towards that place, he resolved to meet him. In order to this, he caused Claudius Nero to march with the horse by night out at the gate that was opposite to the way Hannibal was to come; after having taken a great circuit, he was to return back, and follow Hannibal; and when he saw the battle begun, to attack him in the rear. It is not known whether Nero lost his way in the night, or whether he had not time enough to execute this order; but had he come up at the time appointed, Hannibal had been entirely defeated. Marcellus, indeed, had already beaten him himself, but not having horse enough, he durst not pursue him, and therefore founded a retreat. Hannibal lost above two thousand men, and the Romans less than four hundred. Nero returned to Nola in the evening, after having fatigued his troops to no purpose, without seeing the enemy. Marcellus expostulated severely with him, and said, that it was wholly owing to him that the Romans had not that day made reprisals upon Hannibal for the loss they sustained at the battle of Cannæ. *Livy* xxiv. 17.

† Hieronymus was murdered by his own subjects at Leontium. He was the son of Gelo, and the grandson of Hiero. His father Gelo died first, and afterwards his grandfather, being ninety years old; and Hieronymus, who was not then fifteen, was slain some months after. These three deaths happened towards the latter end of the year that preceded Marcellus's third consulate.

‡ They had sent Appius Claudius thither in quality of prætor. He was there before the death of Hieronymus, who laughed at the

As soon as Marcellus had taken upon him the command of the army in Sicily, a great number of Romans came and threw themselves at his feet, imploring his assistance under their unhappy circumstances. Of those who fought at the battle at Cannæ, some fled, and some were taken prisoners; and these latter were so many in number, that it was said, the Romans had not men enough left to defend the walls of their city. But they still retained so much courage and magnanimity, that when Hannibal offered to release the prisoners for a very inconsiderable ransom, they not only refused it, but without giving themselves any further trouble about them, left them to be killed by the enemy, or sold out of Italy; and those who had saved themselves by flight, they transported into Sicily, with an express command not to return home till the war with Hannibal was ended. When Marcellus was arrived in that island, great numbers of these unfortunate men addressed themselves to him, and falling on their knees before him, with the deepest lamentations and floods of tears, begged to be admitted into the troops, promising to make it appear by their future behaviour that that defeat was owing to some misfortune, and not to their cowardice. Whereupon Marcellus, out of compassion, wrote to the senate, desiring leave to recruit his troops out of those exiles, as he should have occasion. The senate deliberated a long time about the matter, and at length returned this answer: *That the Romans did not stand in need of the assistance of cowards; but however, if Marcellus had a mind, he might make use of them, provided he did not bestow on any of them a crown, or any other customary*

ambassadors that came from Rome, to confirm the alliance between him and the Romans. "What success had ye," said he, "at the battle of Cannæ! Hannibal's ambassadors tell me strange things about it: I would fain know the truth, that I may know what to resolve on."

reward



*reward of valour.* This decree of the senate gave Marcellus great uneasiness : and at his return to Rome, after the war was ended, he expostulated and complained to them, that, after all his services, they had denied him the satisfaction of retrieving the honour and alleviating the misfortunes of those poor citizens.

His first care, after he came into Sicily, was to be revenged on Hippocrates \*, the Syracusan general, for his treachery ; who, to shew his affection to the Carthaginians, and by their means to make himself tyrant of Sicily, had attacked the Romans near Leontium, and slain great numbers of them. Marcellus therefore marched with his whole army to besiege that city, and took it by storm ; but offered no injury or violence to the inhabitants ; only such deserters as he found there, he ordered to be beaten with rods, and then put to death. Hippocrates presently sent an account to Syracuse, that Marcellus had put to the sword without distinction all that were able to bear arms ; and while the Syracusans were under the utmost consternation at this news, he came suddenly upon them, and surprised the city.

Hereupon Marcellus marched with his whole army, and encamping near Syracuse, sent ambassadors thither to acquaint the inhabitants with the whole truth of what had happened at Leontium. But finding that all he could say was to no purpose, and that the Syracusans, awed by the power of Hippocrates, refused to listen to him, he prepared to attack the city both by sea and land. Appius

\* This Hippocrates and his brother Epycides were Carthaginians by birth, but originally from Syracuse ; for their grandfather having been banished from thence, settled at Carthage, where he married. Hannibal sent these two brothers, with a Carthaginian of noble extraction, whose name was *Hannibal*, ambassadors to Syracuse. This last returned quickly with the treaty they had made with the tyrant ; but the two others, by Hannibal's consent, continued still at his court as ambassadors in ordinary.

Claudius commanded the land-forces, while Marcellus with sixty galleys, each of which had five rows of oars, and was provided with all kind of arms and missile weapons, attacked it by sea; he had besides a terrible machine carried upon eight galleys fastened together; and he was animated with great hopes by the number of his batteries, the vastness of his preparations, and especially by the great reputation he had acquired in war. But Archimedes despised all his machines and preparations, which were nothing in comparison of those engines he invented daily; although he did not at all value himself upon them, or consider the invention of them as any effort of genius, but only as an amusement and diversion in his geometrical studies. Neither had he gone so far, but at the earnest request of Hiero, who had a long time solicited him to reduce his speculations into practice, by employing them about corporeal and sensible things, and to make his abstracted reasonings more evident and intelligible to the generality of mankind, by applying them to the uses of life.

Eudoxus and Archytas were the first that invented and put in practice this celebrated mechanical knowledge, to give geometry more variety and agreeableness, and to solve by sensible experiments and the use of instruments, certain problems for which mere geometrical reasoning is not sufficient. That problem, for example, of two mean proportional lines, which cannot be found out geometrically, and yet are so necessary for the solution of several other problems, they resolved mechanically, by the assistance of certain instruments called *mesolabes*, taken from conic sections. But when Plato grew displeased at them, and reproached them for corrupting and debasing the excellence of geometry, by making it descend from incorporeal and intellectual to corporeal and sensible things, and forcing it to make use of matter, which requires manual labour,

labour, and is the object of low and servile trades ; from that time the study of mechanism was judged beneath the dignity of geometry, and separated from it ; and after having been a long time despised by the philosophers, came to be reckoned a part of the military art.

Archimedes asserted one day to King Hiero, whose friend and kinsman he was, this proposition, that with any given force the greatest weight whatever might be moved ; and confident of the strength of his demonstration, he ventured further to affirm, that if there was another earth beside this we inhabit, by going into that, he would move this wherever he pleased. The king, surprised hereat, desired him to evince the truth of his proposition by moving some great weight with a small force. Archimedes therefore having caused one of the king's galleys to be drawn on the shore by the assistance of a great many hands, and not without much labour, ordered it to be loaded with its usual burden, and a great number of men besides ; then placing himself at some distance from it, without any pains, and only by moving with his hand the end of a machine which consisted of a variety of ropes and pulleys, he drew it to him as smoothly and easily as if it had floated on the water. The king, astonished at so surprising an effect, and convinced by it of the wonderful power of this art, entreated Archimedes to make him several kinds of military engines and machines that might be useful both ways, and serve either to defend or attack. These however he never made use of, the greatest part of his reign being free from war, and blessed with tranquillity and peace ; however, they were all ready for the Syracusans on this occasion, and the artist himself at hand to direct them.

When the Romans were preparing to storm the walls of Syracuse in two places at the same time, silence and consternation reigned throughout the city,



city, the inhabitants believing it impossible to withstand such numerous forces, and so furious an assault. But as soon as Archimedes began to play his engines, they shot forth against the land-forces all kinds of missile weapons, and stones of a prodigious weight, with so much noise, and such an irresistible rapidity and force, that nothing was able to stand before them; they overturned and broke to pieces every thing that came in their way, and caused terrible disorder among their ranks. On the side towards the sea were erected vast machines\*, putting forth on a sudden, over the walls, huge beams, which striking with a prodigious force on the enemies ships, sunk them at once. Others being hoisted up at the prows by iron claws, or hooks, like the beaks of cranes, and set an end on the stern, were plunged to the bottom of the sea. Others again by means of hooks and cords were drawn towards the shore, and after being whirled about were dashed against the edges of the rocks that jutted out below the walls, and all who were on board were bruised to pieces. Very often you might have seen (which was indeed a dreadful sight) ships raised a great height above the water, swinging in the air; and when the men were shaken out by the violence of the motion, the vessels were either split in pieces against the walls, or else suddenly let fall and plunged to the bottom of the sea.

As for the machine which Marcellus brought upon eight galleys †, and which was called *Sambuca*,  
from

\* This machine with which Archimedes took hold of Marcellus's ships, oversetting them, and plunging them into the sea, was a kind of crane, called *Charistion*. We read in Tzetzes *πᾶ ὧς, καὶ χαρισί-ων τὰν γᾶν κινήσω πάντα*. *Let me fix my foot somewhere, and I will move the whole earth with my machine*. Mention is made of this in the Latin inscriptions, where we find *charistionem æneum*. It is said by some to have been invented, not by Archimedes, but by one *Charistion* a mathematician, and to have been used with good success against Samos.

† Polybius has described this machine in his eighth book, and several

from its resemblance to a musical instrument of the same name ; before it came near the walls, Archimedes discharged a vast piece of a rock, of ten talents weight ; after that a second, and then a third, all which striking upon it with an amazing noise and force, totally shattered and disjointed it.

Marcellus, doubtful what course to take, drew off his galleys as fast as he could, and at the same time sent orders to the forces on land to retreat likewise. He immediately called a council of war, in which it was resolved, to come close under the walls, if it was possible, the next morning before day ; for Archimedes's engines, they thought, being very strong, and designed for a considerable distance, would throw all the stones and weapons over their heads ; and if they should be pointed at them when they were so near, they would have no effect. But Archimedes had long before provided machines for all distances, with suitable weapons and shorter beams. Besides, he had caused holes to be made in the walls, in which he placed scorpions, for close fighting, which wounded those that came near, without being perceived.

When the Romans were got close to the walls, imagining themselves by that means in a good measure screened from the enemy, they were instantly attacked from all parts with a shower of darts and all kind of missile weapons, together with great quantities of stones falling perpendicular upon their heads, which soon obliged them to retire ; but no sooner were they got at a little distance from the walls, when a new shower of all sorts of weapons overtook them, so that there was a very great slaughter made, and many of their galleys were bruised and dashed in pieces, without being able to do the least damage, or make the least impression

veral writers after him ; but, according to the learned Casaubon, the most exact description of it may be found in the mechanics of Athenæus, which he took from the memoirs of one Damius of Colophon.

upon

upon the enemy. For most of Archimedes's machines were hid behind the walls; so that the Romans sustaining such infinite mischief, without seeing whence it came, seemed, as it were, to fight against the gods.

However, Marcellus escaped this danger, and laughing at his own engineers and artists, said, *Shall we continue to fight with this mechanical Briareus, who lifts our ships out of the sea, and plunges them into it again, like bowls, for his diversion, and who, for numbers of weapons discharged against us at once, even surpasses the fabulous story of the giants with an hundred hands?* And indeed the Syracusans were all but as the body of these machines, Archimedes alone was the soul that moved them; all other weapons lay idle and unemployed; his were the only offensive and defensive arms of the city.

In short, Marcellus finding that the Romans were seized with so much terror, that if they only spied a small cord or piece of wood above the walls, they immediately fled, crying out, *That Archimedes was going to let fly some terrible engine at them;* gave over all thoughts of taking the city by storm, and turned the siege into a blockade.

However, Archimedes had so sublime a genius, such a depth of understanding, and such an inexhaustible fund of mathematical knowledge, that he would never condescend to commit to writing the least account of these machines, which he employed with such wonderful success, and which gained him the reputation of a man endued not with human science, but divine wisdom. He slighted as vile and sordid the art of contriving engines, and applying mathematical knowledge to common uses, and placed his whole study and delight in those purely intellectual speculations, whose excellence arises from truth and demonstration only. For if the mechanical science is valuable for the curious frame and amazing power of those machines which  
it



it produces, the other infinitely excels on account of its invincible force and conviction. For difficult and abstruse geometrical questions are no where expressed in plainer terms, or demonstrated on more clear and evident principles, than in the writings of Archimedes. Some ascribe this to the natural force and acuteness of his genius; others to his indefatigable industry, by which he made things that cost much toil and pains appear unlaboured and easy. It will be almost impossible for any man of himself to find out the demonstration of his propositions; but when he has once learned it from him, he fancies he might have done it without any difficulty, so short and easy is his method of demonstration. Wherefore we are not to reject as incredible, what is related of him, that being perpetually charmed by a domestic fyren, that is, his geometry, he neglected his meat and drink, and all necessary care of his body; and that being often carried by force to the baths, he would make mathematical figures in the ashes, and with his finger draw lines upon his body, when it was anointed with oil; so much was he transported beyond himself with intellectual delight, and captivated with the love of science. And though he was the author of many curious and excellent discoveries, he is said to have desired his friends only to place on his tombstone a cylinder containing a sphere, and to set down the proportion which the contained solid bears to the containing. Such was Archimedes, who employed his utmost skill to save both himself and the city of Syracuse from being taken \*.

Marcellus leaving Appius with two thirds of the army before Syracuse, marched with the rest to

\* He was the first who demonstrated the proportion between these solids. Cicero discovered this monument when he was quæstor in Sicily, and showed it to the Syracusans, who knew not that it was in being. He says there were verses inscribed below expressing that a cylinder and sphere had been put upon his tomb.

besiege Megara, one of the most ancient cities of Sicily, which he took by storm. A few days after he attacked the camp of Hippocrates at Acrillæ \*, and slew above eight thousand of his men. About the same time, he over-ran a great part of Sicily, re-took several places that had submitted to the Carthaginians, and fought several battles, in all which he was constantly victorious.

Some time after this, when he was returned before Syracuse, he surprised and took prisoner Damippus a Lacedæmonian, as he was going from thence by sea. The Syracusans being very desirous to redeem him, offered his ransom to Marcellus, and he had several meetings and conferences with them about it. This gave Marcellus an opportunity of observing a tower into which soldiers might be privately conveyed, which was carelessly guarded, and the wall that led to it easy to be scaled. Having found the height of the wall with sufficient exactness, by being frequently near it on account of these conferences, he prepared his scaling-ladders, and put his design in execution, when the Syracusans were celebrating a feast to Diana with wine and jollity; so that before the day-light, without being perceived by the citizens, he not only possessed himself of the tower, but filled the walls all about with soldiers, and forcibly entered the Hexapylum. The Syracusans, as soon as they perceived it, began to move about in great confusion; but at the sound of all the Roman trumpets at once, they were seized with consternation, and betook themselves to flight, believing that the whole city was in the possession of the enemy. But the Achradina, the best and strongest part of it, was not taken, being divided

\* Hippocrates marched out of Syracuse by night with ten thousand foot and five hundred horse to join Himilco, who was landed at Heraclea with twenty thousand foot, three thousand horse, and twelve elephants. Marcellus marched from Agrigentum, which he had taken, and fell upon him as he was entrenching himself at Acrillæ, a town not far from Syracuse. *Liv. xxiv. 35.*

by walls from the rest of the city, one part of which was called *Neapolis*, and the other *Tyche*.

This enterprize being thus successfully executed, Marcellus about break of day entered from the Hexapylum into the city, where all his officers came about him to congratulate him on his success. But when from the rising ground he looked down and viewed this great and magnificent city, he is said to have wept, commiserating the calamity that hung over it, his thoughts representing to him how sad and dismal the approaching scene must be, when it came to be sacked and plundered. For the soldiers peremptorily demanded the plunder of it, and none of the officers durst deny it; nay, there were many who insisted that the city should be burnt and laid level with the ground: but this Marcellus refused to consent to; nor was it without much reluctance that he suffered the riches of the city and the slaves to become their prey; though he strictly commanded them at the same time not to touch any freeman, nor to kill, offer violence to, or make any citizen a slave.

But, notwithstanding this great moderation of Marcellus, the city met with so severe a treatment, that, in the midst of his joy, he could not help expressing his concern, to see so flourishing a state of grandeur and felicity vanish in a moment. The plunder and spoils of this city are said to have been no less in value than those that were taken soon after at Carthage. For in a very short time all the other parts of the city were taken by treachery and plundered; only the royal treasure was preserved, and carried into the public treasury at Rome\*.

But

\* Was there no other relation of this siege, than what is given by Plutarch, every one would conclude that Marcellus got possession of the whole city of Syracuse within a very few days after he first entered it; which is a mistake. I believe one may venture to say, that never any city, after the enemy was in possession of it, and encamped within its walls, held out so long, and cost the conqueror so much



But what gave Marcellus the greatest concern, was the unhappy fate of Archimedes, who was at that time engaged in study, and his mind, as well as eyes, so intent upon some geometrical figures, that he

pains. After Marcellus was in possession of Neapolis and Tyche, he met with a more difficult task, wherein he gave proof at the same time of his heroic bravery and consummate wisdom. Plutarch did not think fit to relate the particulars, and by so slightly passing over that great and glorious action, he has been highly injurious to the fame and honour of this illustrious Roman. What Polybius wrote about it is unfortunately lost; Livy is the only author now remaining, who gives us all the particulars of that siege, in his twenty-fifth book. I believe the reader will be pleased with an abstract of it.

When Marcellus had in this manner entered the city by the Hexapylum, Epeyides assembled in haste all the troops he had in the isle adjoining to Achradina, and marched at the head of them against him; but finding, after a short trial, that Marcellus was too strong for him, he shut himself up in Achradina. Marcellus endeavoured to gain those who had the charge of the gates belonging to that fortress; but not succeeding, he turned his forces against the fort called *Euryalus*, which stood at the end of the town, and commanded all the country towards the land. Philodemus, who commanded there, kept Marcellus in play for some time, to give Hippocrates and Himilco an opportunity to come up with their forces to his assistance. Whereupon Marcellus, finding it difficult to make himself master of it, encamped between Neapolis and Tyche, till Philodemus for want of succours surrendered, on condition he might be allowed to march with his garrison to Epicydes in Achradina. In the mean time Bomilcar, who lay in the port with ninety vessels, taking the opportunity of a dark tempestuous night, when the ships of the Romans were driven from their anchors, sailed out with thirty-six of his vessels, went to Carthage, acquainted the Carthaginians with the state of their affairs in Sicily, and returned with an hundred sail. Marcellus having put a garrison into *Euryalus*, and thereby secured himself from any attempts of the enemy in the rear, sat down before Achradina. In the mean time Hippocrates and Himilco arrived. Hippocrates made an attack upon the old camp of the Romans, where Crispinus had the command, whilst Epicydes sallied out upon Marcellus. Hippocrates was vigorously repulsed by Crispinus, who pursued him up to his intrenchments; and Marcellus obliged Epicydes to keep himself within Achradina. It was now autumn, and a pestilential distemper raged in the city, and in the camps both of the Romans and Carthaginians, but more especially in the latter. The Sicilians that were among them dispersed themselves up and down in the country, and so escaped the contagion; but the Carthaginians, who had no places of retreat, died almost all to a man, with their commanders Hippocrates and Himilco. In the mean time, Bomilcar made a second voyage to Carthage, and returned with fresh supplies; for he brought with him one hundred and thirty sail, and seven hundred ships of burden. The contrary winds hindered him from

he neither heard the noise and hurry of the Romans, nor perceived that the city was taken. While he was thus employed, a soldier came suddenly upon him, and commanded him to follow him to Mar-

from doubling the cape of Pachynus. Epicydes being afraid, that in case the wind continued, Bomilcar would return with the fleet into Africa, leaving Achradina under the command of the officers belonging to the mercenaries; went to Bomilcar, and pressed him to try his fortune in a naval engagement. Marcellus observing that the forces of the Sicilians increased every day, and that if he did not take care, he should be pent up both by sea and land, resolved, though not so strong at sea as the Carthaginians, to oppose their passage. When the wind abated, Bomilcar stood out to sea, that he might double the cape with less danger; but as soon as he saw the Romans making towards him in good order, all on a sudden, he unaccountably fled, and ordering the ships of burden to return home, sailed himself to Tarentum. Epicydes, being thus deserted, retired to Agrigentum. The Sicilians, informed of what had passed, immediately dispatched deputies to Marcellus with offers to surrender upon conditions. When they had agreed upon the terms, the deputies went to confer with the inhabitants of Achradina, whom they easily persuaded to put to death the commanders Epicydes had left there. Those officers being slain, an assembly was called, new officers were created, and some of them sent to Marcellus. When every thing was agreed upon between them and the Romans, the deserters in the fortress being afraid they should be delivered up to the Romans, persuaded the auxiliary troops, whom they terrified with the same apprehensions, to join with them, to kill the new officers, to fall upon all the Syracusans that came in their way, seize on every thing they could lay their hands upon, and appoint six officers of their own. Three of these had the command in Achradina, and three in the island. Among those who commanded in Achradina, was one Mericus a Spaniard. He being corrupted by the Romans, delivered up the gate that stood near the fountain of Aethusa. The next morning at break of day, Marcellus caused a false attack to be made upon Achradina, to draw to that part all the forces that were in the island and the fortress adjoining, and to give some ships he had prepared for that purpose, an opportunity of throwing forces into the island after the enemies troops were withdrawn. The success answered his desire. The soldiers landing in the island, found all the posts forsaken and the gates open, and made themselves masters of the place with little opposition. Marcellus finding himself in possession of the island, and one of the quarters of Achradina, and that Mericus had joined him with his garrison, founded a retreat, to prevent the treasure which had been collected by the Sicilian kings from being plundered. Soon after this, all the gates of Achradina were surrendered. Marcellus called a council, made a speech to the Syracusans, and when he had placed a guard upon the treasury, gave the city up to be pillaged. Thus Syracuse, after a three years siege, fell into the hands of the Romans.

cellus; which he refusing to do till he had finished and demonstrated his problem, the soldier, in a rage, drew his sword and killed him. Others write, that Archimedes, seeing a soldier come with a drawn sword to kill him, entreated him to hold his hand one moment, that he might not leave his problem unfinished, and the demonstration imperfect; but that the soldier, unmoved at his request, killed him immediately. Others again write, that as Archimedes was carrying some mathematical instruments in a box to Marcellus, as fundials, spheres, and quadrants, with which the eye might measure the magnitude of the sun's body, some soldiers met him, and believing there was gold in it, slew him. But all historians agree, that Marcellus was extremely concerned at his death; that he would not so much as look upon his murderer, detesting him as an execrable villain; and that having made a diligent inquiry after his relations, he bestowed many signal favours upon them.

The Romans had hitherto given other nations sufficient proof, both of their courage and conduct in war, but they had not yet shown them any illustrious examples of clemency, humanity, and political virtue. Marcellus seems to have been the first, who, on this occasion, showed the Greeks that the Romans surpassed them in justice, no less than in conduct and courage. For such was his candour and condescension to all with whom he had any concern, such his generosity to several cities and private persons, that if any thing severe or cruel was committed in the cities of Enna, Megara, and Syracuse, the blame of it is more justly chargeable on the sufferers themselves, than on those who were the authors and instruments of their suffering. I shall only give one example out of many that might be mentioned. There is in Sicily a city called *Engium*, which, though not large, is very ancient, and particularly celebrated for the appearance



appearance of the goddesses called the *mothers* \*. Their temple is said to have been founded by the Cretans; there they shew several spears and brazen helmets, some of which bear the name of *Merion*, and others that of *Ulysses*, who consecrated them to these goddesses. This city greatly favoured the Carthaginian interest; but Nicias, the most eminent of the citizens, used all his endeavours to make them declare for the Romans, speaking his mind freely at all public assemblies, and labouring to convince them of their error. These men fearing the power and reputation of Nicias, resolved to seize him, and deliver him to the Carthaginians. But he, having discovered their design, guarded against it after this manner. He uttered several things disrespectful and injurious to the goddesses, seeming to deny the received opinion of their appearance among them, and to charge it with fable and imposture. His enemies were overjoyed to see that he himself had furnished them with reasons sufficient to justify whatever they should act against him. When the day agreed on to seize him was come, there happened to be a public assembly in the city, and Nicias was in the midst of the people haranguing them, and giving his advice concerning some affair then under deliberation. But on a sudden, in the middle of his discourse, he fell flat on the ground, and after having lain there some time without speaking, as though he had been in a trance, he lifted up his head, and turning it about, began to speak with a feeble trembling voice, which he raised by degrees; and when he perceived that the whole assembly was struck with horror and remained in profound silence, he rose up, threw off his mantle, and tearing his coat in pieces, ran half naked towards one

\* These goddesses, I believe, were Cybele, Juno, and Ceres. Cicero speaking of Enguium, mentions only the temple of Cybele.

of the doors of the theatre, crying out that the *mothers* avenging furies pursued him. A religious fear detained every body from laying hands on him or stopping him, so that he reached one of the city-gates without opposition, no longer counterfeiting, by the least word or action, a man mad or possessed \*. His wife, who was in the secret, and assisted in the stratagem, taking her children in her arms, ran first of all, and prostrated herself as a suppliant to the goddesses at their altar; then pretending to go in search of her husband who was wandering about the fields, she got safely out of the town without any hinderance at all, and so they both made their escape to Marcellus at Syracuse. Some days after this, Marcellus entering Enguim, caused all the inhabitants to be loaded with irons, in order to punish them for their insolence and treachery. But Nicias addressed himself to him, and falling on his knees, with tears in his eyes, and kissing his hands, asked pardon for all the citizens, and in the first place for his enemies. Hereupon Marcellus relenting, set them all at liberty, and hindered his soldiers from committing any disorder in the city, bestowing on Nicias a large tract of land and many rich presents. This is the account given by Posidonius the philosopher.

Marcellus †, after this, being recalled by the Romans to conduct a war nearer home, carried away with him at his departure the finest statues, paintings, and furniture in Syracuse; first to be made use of to decorate his triumph, and then to be preserved as lasting ornaments to the city. For

\* There is probably an error in the text here. The Latin translator renders it, *ne vocem illam, &c. prætermisit*: "He omitted nothing in his words and actions that was suitable to the character of a person mad or possessed."

† Plutarch forgets here a great victory Marcellus gained over Epi-cydes and Hanno before he left Sicily; when he slew a great many men, took several prisoners, besides eight elephants. *Liv. xxv. 40. Hæc ultima in Sicilia Marcelli pugna fuit,*

before

before that time, Rome had never seen or known any curiosities of this kind ; nor were there any of those exquisite pieces of art, which show an elegant and polite taste, to be found there \*. Instead of these were then to be seen arms taken from the barbarians, spoils stained with blood, and triumphal ornaments and trophies, which presented to the view an unpleasing and dreadful sight, no way fit to entertain the eyes of nice and delicate spectators. And as Epaminondas called the plains of Bœotia, *the Orchestra, or stage of Mars*, and Xenophon styled Ephesus *the arsenal of war* ; so, in my opinion, Rome might then have been called (to use the words of Pindar) *the palace of Mars*.

For this reason Marcellus became the favourite of the people, he having made the city a delightful spectacle, by embellishing it with such ornaments, that all the variety and elegance of the Grecian arts were exhibited to their view. But the graver citizens preferred Fabius Maximus, who, after he had taken Tarentum, brought no such things from thence, but contented himself with their gold and silver and other useful riches, leaving the pictures and statues of the gods in their places, and using upon that occasion these memorable words, *Let us leave to the Tarentines their offended deities*. They charged Marcellus, in the first place, with having rendered the city of Rome odious, by leading not only men, but even the gods in triumph ; and then

\* Livy makes a reflection upon this, which is very remarkable. " All the spoils were the conqueror's, they belonged to him by the right of war ; but from thence arose the custom of admiring the works of Grecian artists, and the liberty which still prevails, of violating places sacred and profane ; a liberty which was at last turned against the very gods of Rome, and that very temple which Marcellus had adorned with so much splendour and magnificence : " and the proof he gives of this, is, that in his time there was not to be seen the hundredth part of the ornaments which Marcellus had consecrated, xxv. 40. Polybius has written a whole chapter to inquire whether the Romans did dwell in carrying the rich ornaments of all the cities they conquered to Rome.



with having spoiled a people inured to husbandry and war, wholly unacquainted with luxury and sloth, and (as Euripides said of Hercules)

*Rough and unbred, yet fit for great designs,*

by furnishing them with an occasion of idleness and vain discourse; for they now began to waste the best part of their time, in disputing about arts and artists. But, notwithstanding this censure, this was the thing Marcellus most gloried in, and even before the Greeks themselves, that he was the first who taught the Romans to admire and value the Grecian arts, and gave them a taste for those exquisite performances, which they never understood before.

Finding at his return that his enemies opposed his triumph, and considering that the war in Sicily was not quite finished, and that a third triumph \* would expose him to the envy of the citizens, he was content to celebrate his greater triumph on the Alban mount, and to enter the city in that sort of triumph, which the Greeks call *Evan*, and the Romans *Ovation*. The person to whom this kind of triumph was allowed, did not ride in a triumphal chariot drawn by four horses, neither was he crowned with laurel, nor had he trumpets sounding before him; but he went on foot, in slippers, with flutes playing before him, and with a crown of myrtle on his head, which was a sight that carried no appearance of war, and was rather delightful than terrible. And this, in my opinion, is a plain proof that formerly the difference between a

\* Plutarch mentions but one triumph before this, nor do other authors speak of any more. Instead of *τρίτης*, a certain manuscript has *πρώτης*; if this be the true reading, it must be thus translated, "His former triumph had exposed him," &c. But as Plutarch afterwards, in the comparison of Pelopidas and Marcellus, says expressly that Marcellus had three triumphs, it was thought proper to translate the passage according to the common reading.

*triumph* and an *ovation*, did not arise from the greatness of the achievement, but the manner of its celebration; for they who conquered the enemy with great slaughter and effusion of blood, were honoured with the first kind of military and terrible triumph, in which both the soldiers and their arms were crowned with laurel, as was usual in the ceremony of lustrating or purifying a camp: but to such generals as succeeded in their enterprises without force, merely by their prudence and power of persuasion, the law allowed the honour of that civil pacific entry, called *ovation*. For the flute is an instrument of peace, and the myrtle the plant of Venus, who, more than all the other deities, abhors violence and war. The word *ovation* is not derived, as most authors think, from the word *evan*, signifying a song of joy, because the other triumph was accompanied with shouting and singing as well as this; but the Greeks have wrested it to a word well known in their language, believing that this show relates in some measure to Bacchus, whom they call *Evius* and *Thriambus*. But this is not the truth. It was customary among the Romans at the greater triumph to sacrifice an ox, but at the other only a sheep, which in Latin is called *ovis*, and thence comes the word *ovation*. It is worth our while on this occasion to observe the conduct of the Spartan legislator, whose laws concerning sacrifices were directly opposite to the Roman. For at Lacedæmon a general who had succeeded in his undertaking by art or persuasion, sacrificed an ox; but he that succeeded only by force of arms, offered a cock: for though they were a very brave and warlike people, yet they thought such achievements as were owing to eloquence and wisdom more suitable to the nature of man, and more worthy of honour, than those that were effected only by violence and slaughter.

But

But which of the two has the best reasons to support it, I leave to the determination of others.

Marcellus being a fourth time chosen consul, his enemies persuaded the Syracusans to come to Rome, and accuse him before the senate of several acts of injustice and cruelty, contrary to the league between them and the Romans. On the day of their arrival Marcellus happened to be offering sacrifice in the capitol \*. The Syracusan deputies went directly to the senate, who were then sitting, and falling on their knees besought them to hear their complaints and do them justice. The other consul, who was there present, took Marcellus's part, and reproved the complainants, for preferring their petition during his colleague's absence. But when Marcellus heard what was in agitation, he made haste to the senate, and taking his place there, dispatched the ordinary affairs of his office; after which, he rose from his seat, and as a private man went into the place appointed for the accused to make their defence, giving the Syracusans full liberty to make good their charge. They were at first struck and confounded at his unconcern and the dignity of his appearance; and though his aspect, when in armour, was awful and tremendous, they found it much more terrible now in consular purple. However being animated and encouraged by his enemies, they laid open their accusation in a speech full of lamentations and complaints; the

\* Plutarch omits one circumstance here, which ought to have been fully expressed, which is, that the Syracusans were scarce arrived at Rome before the consuls drew lots for their respective provinces, and Sicily fell to Marcellus. This was a terrible stroke to the Syracusans that were come to accuse him. They wept, and said, "they must now be obliged to leave Sicily, and that it was better for them to leap into the gulf of Mount Ætna, or the sea, than expose themselves to the consul's resentment, after the steps they had taken against him." They would have obliged the consuls to desire the senate to change the provinces; but Marcellus offered it of his own accord; which being done, and the Syracusans by that means put out of fear, they prosecuted their charge. *Liv.* xxvi. 29. 30.



sum of all which was, *That though they were friends and allies of the Romans, yet Marcellus had made them suffer such things as other generals seldom inflict on a conquered enemy* \*. To this Marcellus answered, *That notwithstanding all the injuries they had done the Romans, they had suffered nothing but what it was impossible to protect an enemy from, when a city was taken by storm; and that it was their own fault, they were so taken, by having rejected such reasonable proposals as had been offered them; that they could not urge in their excuse, that they had been forced by the tyrants to take arms, since they had voluntarily submitted to those tyrants on purpose to make war.* When the reasons had been heard on both sides, the deputies, according to custom, were ordered to withdraw; Marcellus likewise did the same, leaving his colleague to take the senators votes; while he himself waited at the door with great patience and modesty till the cause was determined, showing no sign of concern about the event or resentment against the Syracusans †. After the votes were taken, and judgment pronounced in favour of Marcellus, the Syracusans came and threw themselves at his feet, beseeching him with tears in their eyes to forget his resentments, and to pardon not only them who were there present, but likewise all the rest of the citizens, who would always retain a grateful remembrance of his favours. Marcellus, moved by their tears and entreaties, generously forgave them, and from that time continued to do the rest of the Syracusans all the good offices he was able. The senate ratified all that Marcellus had done, confirmed the laws and liberties he had re-

\* When the Syracusan deputies had finished their accusation, Lævinus, the other consul, ordered them to go out of the senate; but Marcellus kept them in, being desirous to make his defence in their presence.

† Livy says, he went to the capitol to take the names of the soldiers that were listed; and that after judgment was passed, the senate sent two senators to fetch him, and that the Syracusans were ordered to attend at the same time with him.

stored to them, and secured them in the possession of their goods and estates. The Syracusans in return decreed Marcellus all imaginable honours, and made a particular law, that when either he, or any of his family came into Sicily, the Syracusans with chaplets on their heads should in a solemn manner offer sacrifice to the gods.

After this, Marcellus was sent against Hannibal. Since the battle of Cannæ the other consuls and generals had used no other policy against the Carthaginians but only to avoid coming to a battle, none of them daring to engage with them. But Marcellus took a quite contrary course, being fully persuaded that delay, which was thought the best way to ruin Hannibal, would imperceptibly waste and destroy Italy; and that Fabius, with his slow and cautious maxims, did not pursue a right method to cure the disorders of his country; for before he could put an end to the war, their whole strength would be consumed. He thought him like an unskilful physician, who out of fear delays giving his patient strong but necessary physic, till his spirits are quite exhausted, and nature sunk beyond the possibility of a recovery.

His first success was the retaking the chief cities of the Samnites that had revolted from the Romans, in which he found great quantities of corn and money; and, at the same time, three thousand of Hannibal's soldiers, whom he had left for the defence of those places, were made prisoners. After this Cneius Fulvius the præconsul, with eleven tribunes, being slain by Hannibal in Apulia, and the whole army entirely defeated, Marcellus dispatched letters to Rome to animate and encourage the people, assuring them that he was actually upon his march against Hannibal, and should soon lessen the joy he felt for his late success. Livy informs us, that the reading of these letters was so far from abating their concern, that it increased their fears; for

for they were in more pain for their present danger than their past loss, as they accounted Marcellus a greater general than Fulvius.

He then advancing, according to his promise, to give Hannibal battle, marched into Lucania, where he found the enemy encamped on inaccessible heights near the city of Numistro. Marcellus encamped upon the plain, and the next day, drew up his army in order of battle. Hannibal coming down from the hills, a battle immediately ensued, which, though not decisive, was very bloody; for it began at the third hour, and continued till the darkness of the night put a stop to it. The next morning at break of day Marcellus drew up his army again among the dead bodies, on the field of battle, and challenged Hannibal to renew the fight, and decide the contest. But Hannibal chose rather to draw off; whereupon Marcellus, after he had caused the spoils of the enemy to be gathered, and the bodies of his dead soldiers to be burnt, marched in pursuit of him. And though Hannibal laid several ambuscades for him in his march, by his prudent conduct he escaped them all, and had the advantage in every skirmish and encounter; which so much heightened his reputation at Rome, that, on the approach of the comitia to appoint new consuls, the senate judged it more adviseable to recall Lævinus, the other consul, from Sicily, than to give Marcellus the least interruption, who was so successfully employed against Hannibal. As soon as Lævinus arrived, he was ordered to name Quintus Fulvius dictator; for the dictator is neither named by the senate or the people, but one of the consuls or generals advancing forward in the midst of the assembly, names whomsoever he pleases; and the person named is called *dictator*, from the word *dicere*, which in Latin signifies *to name*. Others think that he is called *dictator*, because he refers nothing to the decrees of the senate, or the suffrages



of the people, but judges and determines every thing as he pleases by virtue of his own authority: for the orders of the magistrates are by the Romans called *edicts*. Lævinus had a mind to name another person dictator, and not Fulvius, who was presented to him by the senate; and because he would not be obliged to act contrary to his opinion, he left Rome by night, and sailed back to Sicily. Whereupon the people named Quintus Fulvius dictator, and the senate at the same time wrote to Marcellus to confirm their nomination, which he did; after which he himself was continued in his command, and appointed præconsul for the following year.

After this having agreed with Fabius Maximus the consul by letters, that Fabius should besiege Tarentum, while he watched Hannibal's motions so carefully as to prevent his relieving that place, he marched after him with all diligence, and came up with him at Canusium; and as Hannibal shifted his camp continually, to decline coming to a battle, Marcellus pursued him closely, encamping constantly in his sight, and appearing every morning in a readiness to engage him. But at last coming unexpectedly upon him, as he was encamping in a plain, he so harassed his army by little skirmishes, that at length a general battle ensued; but the night parted them again. Early the next morning the Romans came out of their entrenchments, and presented themselves once more in order of battle; this greatly enraged Hannibal, who calling all the Carthaginians together, made a speech to them, in which he conjured them to fight bravely once more, to maintain the renown they had already gained, and to confirm to themselves the fruits of all their former victories: *For you see, said he, after all our successes, and notwithstanding we are so lately come off conquerors, we are scarce allowed time to breathe; nor are we like to enjoy any manner of quiet, unless we drive*  
this

*this man back.* Immediately after this both armies charged with great fury; and the event showed that Marcellus's miscarriage on this occasion was owing to an improper and ill-timed motion \*. For seeing his right wing pressed hard, he commanded one of his legions to advance from the rear to the front; which occasioning a disorder among his troops, gave the victory to the enemy, above two thousand Romans being slain upon the spot †. When Marcellus had retreated into his camp, he summoned the whole army together, and said, *he saw the arms and bodies of Romans before him, but not one Roman.* And when they asked him pardon for their fault, he told them, *they must not expect it so long as they continued beaten, but that he would grant it as soon as they had conquered; and that he would lead them to battle again the next day, that the news of their victory might arrive at Rome before that of their flight.* When he dismissed them, he gave orders that barley, instead of wheat, should be given to those companies that had turned their backs and lost their colours ‡. His discourse made such an impression upon the soldiers, that though many of them had suffered very much, and were sorely wounded, yet there was not one among them, to whom the general's words were not more painful than his wounds.

Early the next morning the scarlet robe, which

\* Livy relates the fact thus: *Marcellus seeing his right wing, consisting of the choicest troops of the allies, give way, ordered the eighteenth legion to advance to the front; and the former shamefully retreating, and the latter advancing but slowly to take their place, the whole army was put into the utmost confusion.* Livy does not lay the blame on Marcellus, but on the troops that were ordered to support the right wing, and who advanced too slowly.

† Two thousand seven hundred of the Romans and their allies; among whom were four Roman centurions, and two tribunes of the soldiers. The wing that fled, lost four standards, and the legion that should have supported them lost two. Liv. xxvii. 12.

‡ This was a common punishment. Marcellus likewise commanded that the commanders of those companies should continue all day long with their swords drawn, and without their girdles.

was the signal of battle, was hung out; the companies that came off with dishonour in the last engagement, at their earnest request obtained leave to be placed in the foremost line; after which the officers drew up the rest of the troops in their proper order. When this was told to Hannibal, he cried out, *O ye gods! what is to be done with a man, who is not affected with either good or bad fortune? He is the only man, who, when conqueror, gives his enemies no rest, and when conquered, takes none himself. We must even resolve to fight with him for ever; for the glory of a victory and the shame of a defeat equally inspire him with new courage, and spur him on to further attempts.*

Both armies engaged immediately; and Hannibal seeing the advantage equal on both sides, commanded the elephants to be brought up, and driven against the van of the Roman army; which at first caused some terror and confusion in the foremost ranks. But Flavius a tribune snatching an ensign from one of the companies, advanced, and with the point of it wounded the foremost elephant; whereupon the beast turning back ran upon the second, and the second upon the next that followed, and so on, till they were all put into disorder. As soon as Marcellus perceived this, he commanded his horse to fall on, and taking advantage of the confusion the elephants had caused, to endeavour to rout the enemy entirely. The cavalry, according to his orders, attacked the Carthaginians furiously, driving them back to their entrenchments, and making a most terrible slaughter; to which the elephants which were killed or wounded contributed not a little. Eight thousand Carthaginians were slain in this battle; on the Roman side three thousand were killed, and almost all the rest wounded. By this means Hannibal had an opportunity to decamp by night, and remove to a good distance from Marcellus, who, by reason of his wounded men,

was



was not in a condition to pursue him, but retired with his army by slow and easy marches into Campania, and passed the summer at Sinuessæ \*, to recover and refresh his soldiers.

When Hannibal had thus got clear of the enemy, his army being under no manner of restraint, over-ran the several parts of Italy round about, ravaging and burning all before them. This gave occasion to some unfavourable reports concerning Marcellus at Rome; and his enemies incited Publius Bibulus, one of the tribunes of the people, a man of a violent temper, and a considerable orator, to bring an accusation against him. This man exclaimed against him publicly, and used all his endeavours to have the command of the army taken from him, and given to some other person: *For Marcellus, said he, having exercised himself a little against Hannibal, has left the stage of battle, and is gone to the baths, to refresh himself after his fatigue* †.

Marcellus having received advice of these practices, committed the charge of the army to his lieutenants, and hastened to Rome to refute the false accusations of his enemies. At his arrival he found a charge drawn up against him, founded on those calumnies. And when the day of hearing was come, and the people were assembled in the Flaminian circus, Bibulus ascended the tribune's seat, and accused him with great vehemence. Marcellus's answer was plain and short; but the great men and chief of the citizens undertook his defence very

\* Livy says in the city of *Venusia*; which is more probable. The great number of wounded men Marcellus had, would hinder him from going to Sinuessæ, which was too far distant from the neighbourhood of Canusium, where the battle was fought.

† Plutarch puts this piece of wit into Bibulus's mouth, supposing that Marcellus was gone to Sinuessæ; for there were hot baths near that city, famous for curing several distempers, as Strabo particularly observes. But if Marcellus went to Venusia, as there is no room to doubt, then this jest is quite lost for there were no hot baths near that place. Bibulus thought it sufficient to reproach Marcellus with passing the summer in winter-quarters, that is, in garrison within doors; *Æstiva Venusiæ sub tectis agere.* Liv.

warmly, and spoke with great freedom, advising the people not to shew themselves worse judges than the enemy, by condemning Marcellus for cowardice, who was the only general they had whom Hannibal took care to avoid, and constantly endeavoured not to be engaged with, though he was very forward to come to an engagement with all the rest.

When they had ended their pleadings on both sides, the accuser's hopes of obtaining judgment against Marcellus were so far defeated, that he was not only acquitted, but a fifth time chosen consul.

As soon as he had entered upon his office, he went to all the cities of Tuscany, where he allayed a very dangerous and seditious commotion, that tended to a revolt. At his return he had a mind to dedicate to Honour and Virtue the temple he had caused to be built out of the spoils brought from Sicily, but was hindered by the priests, who thought it unbecoming the honour due to the gods, that one temple should contain two deities \*; he therefore began to build another to Virtue †, highly displeased at the opposition he had met with, and reckoning it an ill omen.

Several other omens happened at the same time, which troubled him very much; some of the temples were struck with thunder, and the gold in that

\* A certain man going to Athens, and seeing at the gate of the city, a temple dedicated to two gods, said, *I must even turn back again; for since they are forced to lodge two gods at the gate, I shall meet with no lodging in the city.* But in this instance the true cause that made the priests oppose this dedication, was not that they thought it unsuitable to their dignity. Livy tells us the true reason, xxvii. 25. *The priests opposed this dedication, because they affirmed that one temple could not regularly be dedicated to more than one god; for if it was dedicated to two, and it should happen to be visited with lightning and thunder, or any other prodigy from heaven, it would be difficult to make expiation, because they could not know to which of the two gods they ought to offer sacrifice; it not being allowable to offer a single sacrifice to two gods, except in some particular instances.*

† This work was carried on and finished with great diligence, though Marcellus dedicated neither of them himself; but about four years after his son dedicated them both.

of Jupiter was gnawed by rats: and it was likewise reported, that an ox had spoke; and that a child had been born with an elephant's head, and was still alive; and among all the expiatory sacrifices which were offered on that occasion there was not one that manifested any favourable tokens. For this reason the augurs detained him still at Rome, notwithstanding his ardour and impatience to be gone; for never was a man inflamed with so great a desire of any thing as Marcellus was to bring Hannibal to a decisive battle. This was the subject of his dreams in the night, and of his conversation all day with his friends and colleagues; nor did he make any other request to the gods, but that they would permit him to come to a thorough engagement with Hannibal. Nay, I believe he would have been glad to have had both armies encompassed with one wall or ditch, and to have engaged Hannibal within that inclosure. And had not his fame in war been thoroughly established, and the proofs he had given, that for prudence and discretion he was inferior to no one whatever, been incontestable, one would have thought he had been transported by a juvenile heat and ambition beyond what became a person of his age; for he was above sixty when he was chosen consul the fifth time.

However, as soon as the diviners had finished such sacrifices and expiations as they judged proper, he and his colleague left Rome \*, in order to carry on the war against Hannibal; and encamping between the cities of Bantia and Venusia, he tried every method to provoke Hannibal to a battle. This Hannibal very industriously avoided; but ha-

\* His colleague Crispinus left Rome before him, and marching into Lucania, besieged Locris; but he raised the siege as soon as he understood that Marcellus was arrived at Venusia, and had brought his troops into the field, and likewise that Hannibal was come near to Lacinium,



ving received intelligence that the consuls were about to send troops to besiege the city of the Epizephyrians, or western Locrians \*, he prepared an ambuscade on their way near the hill of Petelia, and slew two thousand five hundred of their men. This enraged Marcellus beyond measure, and heightened his desire of coming to a battle, so that he removed his camp nearer to the enemy.

Between the two armies was a little hill, whose ascent was pretty steep; it was covered with bushes and thickets, and on its sides were holes and ditches, from whence issued springs and currents of water. The Romans admired that Hannibal coming first to so commodious a place, should not take possession of it, but leave it for the enemy. But if Hannibal judged it a proper place for a camp, he thought it much fitter for an ambuscade; and to that use he chose to put it. To this end, he filled the thickets and hollows with archers and spearmen, not doubting but so advantageous a situation would entice the Romans thither. Nor was he mistaken in his conjecture: for immediately this became the sole subject of discourse all over the Roman camp; and, as if they had been all generals, every one was setting forth the advantage they should have over the enemy by encamping on this hill, or at least raising a fortification on it. Marcellus therefore thought fit to go himself with some horse to take a view of the place; but before he went, ordered a sacrifice to be offered. In the first victim that was slain, the diviner showed him the

\* Plutarch does not sufficiently clear this fact. From what he says, one would believe that the consuls sent a detachment of their forces to undertake that siege; which is a great mistake. Marcellus and Crispinus were not so imprudent as to weaken their army in sight of such an enemy as Hannibal. They sent orders to Lucius Cincius, who was in Sicily, to sail with his fleet to Locris; and at the same time caused the garrison that was at Tarentum to march that way; and these were the troops Hannibal surprised, by lying in ambuscade near Petelia. *Liv.* xxvii. 26.

liver without a head; in the second, the head of the liver seemed to grow plump and large all at once, and all the other parts appeared fresh and promising \*; so that all the fears and apprehensions occasioned by the first, seemed quite removed by the great hopes arising from the last. But the diviners thought otherwise, and declared that this only increased their fears; for whenever fair and auspicious signs appear immediately after such as are imperfect and ill-boding, such a sudden change is an unfavourable prognostic. But, as Pindar says,

*Nor fire nor brazen walls can fate control.*

Marcellus therefore leaving his camp in order to view the place, took with him his colleague Crispinus, his son Marcellus who was a tribune, and about two hundred and twenty horse, among which there was not one Roman; they were all Tuscans, except forty Fregellanians, of whose fidelity, affection, and courage he had received signal and undoubted proofs. On the top of the hill, which, as we said before, was woody, and full of brambles, was placed a centinel, who, without being discerned by the Romans, saw plainly all the motions of their army. They that lay in ambush had intelligence from him of every thing that passed; and therefore lay close till Marcellus had reached the foot of the hill, when on a sudden they all rushed out upon him, letting fly at him a shower of arrows, and charging him on all sides with their swords and spears. Some pursued those that fled, and others attacked such as stood their ground; for the Tuscans having run away at the first charge, the forty Fregellanians closed themselves together in a body, to defend and save the consuls; till Crispinus being

\* Every thing that increased and grew large was a good sign; and whatever was contracted and diminished was an ill omen.

wounded

wounded by two arrows, turned his horse to make his escape; and Marcellus being run quite through the body with a lance, fell down dead; then the few Fregellanians that remained, leaving Marcellus's body there, carried off his son, who was already wounded, and fled with him to the camp.

In this skirmish, there were not many more than forty men slain; eighteen were taken prisoners, besides five lictors. Crispinus died of his wounds a few days after \*. Never did such a disaster befall the Romans before, to lose both their consuls in one engagement. Hannibal made little account of this defeat, or the prisoners that were taken; but when he heard that Marcellus was slain, he hastened to the place of battle, and coming near his body, viewed it for some time, admiring its strength and mien; but without speaking one insulting word, or showing the least sign of joy at the fall of so great and formidable an enemy. He seemed indeed surprised at the strange and undeserved death of so great a man, and taking his signet from his finger †, commanded that his body should be magnificently adorned and burnt, and his ashes put into a silver urn with a crown of gold upon it, and sent to his son. But certain Numidians meeting those that carried the urn, fell upon them with a design to take it away; and while the others stood upon their guard to defend it, it happened, that in the struggle the ashes were spilt. When this was told to Hannibal, he said to those about him, *It is im-*

\* He lived till towards the latter end of the year, after he had named Titus Manlius Torquatus dictator, to hold the Comitia. Some say he died at Tarentum, others, in Campania.

† He designed to make use of it to surprise the city of Salapia, by writing letters in Marcellus's name, and sealing them with his signet: but Crispinus had the prudence to acquaint all the neighbouring cities with the death of his colleague, and that his signet was in the enemy's hands. The inhabitants of Salapia punished deceit by deceit; and Hannibal was forced to make a dishonourable retreat, after losing some of his troops.



possible to do any thing against the will of God. He punished the Numidians for what they had done, but took no further care to collect the ashes, believing that it was decreed by the gods, that Marcellus should die after so strange a manner, and his remains be denied the honour of a burial. This is what Cornelius Nepos and Valerius Maximus write; but Livy and Augustus Cæsar affirm, that the urn was carried to his son Marcellus, and honoured with a magnificent funeral \*. Marcellus's public donations, besides what he dedicated at Rome, were a magnificent gymnasium, at Catana, in Sicily, and several statues and pictures brought from Syracuse, which he set up in the temple of the gods called *Cabiri*, in the island of Samothracia, and in the temple of Minerva at Lindus; in which last there was likewise a statue of Marcellus with this inscription, as Posidonius the philosopher relates,

*Marcellus, great by birth and great in war,  
Who shone a planet radiant from afar;  
Seven times distinguish'd by a consul's name,  
From well-fought fields he reap'd immortal fame.*

The author of this inscription adds to the dignity of consul, that of proconsul, with which he was twice honoured. His family flourished with great splendour to the time of Marcellus, who was the son of Caius Marcellus, and of Octavia, sister to the emperor Augustus †. He died very young, in the

\* Livy does not affirm this; on the contrary, he says that Hannibal went forthwith and encamped on the hill where the engagement happened, and that finding Marcellus's body, he caused it to be interred: *Castra in tumulum in quo pugnatum erat ex templo transfert; ibi inventum Marcelli corpus sepelit.* xxvii. 28. As to Augustus I can say nothing, because what he has written is not extant.

† It continued after his death an hundred, and eighty-five years; for he was slain in the first year of the 143d Olympiad, in the 545th year of Rome, and 206 years before our Saviour's birth; and young Marcellus died in the second year of the 189th Olympiad, and 730th year of Rome.

year of his ædileship, and soon after he had married Julia the emperor's daughter. In honour of him, his mother Octavia dedicated a library, and Augustus a theatre, which were called the library and theatre of Marcellus\*.

---

### The Comparison of MARCELLUS with PELOPIDAS.

**T**Hese are the most remarkable things we find in history concerning Marcellus and Pelopidas, between whom there was a perfect resemblance in temper and behaviour. They were both men of uncommon strength of body, of heroic courage and magnanimity, and of indefatigable industry: but there was this difference; Marcellus in most of the cities which he took by assault, suffered great slaughter to be committed, whereas Epaminondas and Pelopidas never spilt the blood of any man they had conquered, nor deprived any city they took of its liberty. And it is affirmed, that if either of them had been present, the Thebans had never enslaved the Orchomenians.

As to their martial exploits, nothing can be greater or more glorious than what Marcellus performed against the Gauls, when, with a handful of horse only, he defeated a powerful army of horse and foot, (which you will scarce find to have been done by any other general), and slew their king with his own hand. Pelopidas attempted something of the like nature, but failed, and lost his life in the attempt. However, the famous battles of Leuctra and Tegyrae may justly be compared to those exploits of Marcellus. But for stratagem and circumvention, there is nothing in all the hi-

\* According to Suetonius and Dion, it was not Octavia, but Augustus, that dedicated this library.

story of Marcellus that can be compared to what Pelopidas did at his return from exile, when he slew the Theban tyrants; nor indeed is there any exploit effected by artifice and surprise, that can equal it.

The Romans had to do with Hannibal, who was a very formidable enemy; the Thebans were engaged against the Lacedæmonians. And it is certain, that they were defeated by Pelopidas at Leuctra and Tegyra; whereas Hannibal, according to Polybius, was never once beaten by Marcellus, but continued invincible, till he was conquered by Scipio. But we rather believe, with Livy, Cornelius Nepos, and Cæsar, the Latin historians, and with King Juba \* among the Greeks, that Marcellus, in some battles, did defeat Hannibal, though the advantages he gained were not of such consequence as to turn the balance considerably on his side; the loss Hannibal sustained in any of these engagements, was like a slight fall given to a wrestler, from which he easily recovers himself. But what has been very justly admired, and can never be sufficiently applauded, is, that notwithstanding the defeat of so many armies, the slaughter of so many generals, and the almost total subversion of their whole empire, Marcellus still inspired the Romans with such confidence and courage, that they never declined coming to an engagement with the enemy. He alone not only removed that consternation and dread they had long lain under, but possessed them with an eager desire of battle, and raised their spirits to that height, that they would never easily yield, but always dispute the victory with obstinacy and resolution. For those very men, whom con-

\* The son of Juba, king of Numidia, who in the civil war sided with Pompey, and was slain by Petreus in a single combat. The son, mentioned here by Plutarch, was brought in triumph to Rome by Cæsar. His being taken prisoner, proved his great happiness; for by that means he came to be educated in the learning of the Greeks and Romans; and of a barbarian became an excellent historian.



stant ill success had accustomed to think themselves happy, if they could but save their lives by flying from the enemy \*, he taught to be ashamed of coming off with disadvantage, to blush at the very thought of giving way, and to be very sensibly affected as oft as they came short of victory.

As Pelopidas, all the time he commanded, never lost one battle, and Marcellus won more than any Roman general of his time, it will perhaps be thought, that the great number of his victories ought to put him on a level with Pelopidas who was never once beaten.

On the other hand, Marcellus took Syracuse, whereas Pelopidas could never make himself master of Sparta; though, in my opinion, the taking of Syracuse was not so great an action as advancing to the walls of Sparta, and being the first that passed the river Eurotas with an army; unless it may be said, that Epaminondas had a greater share in the glory of this, as well as of the battle at Leuctra; whereas the renown Marcellus gained was entirely his own. He alone took the city of Syracuse, he defeated the Gauls without the help of his colleague, he made head against Hannibal, not only without the assistance of any other general, but even when all the rest endeavoured to dissuade him from it; so that it was he alone that quite changed the face of the war, and taught the Romans to meet the enemy with resolution and intrepidity.

As to their deaths, I commend neither of them; nay it raises concern, and even indignation in me, to think of their unfortunate end, and that rashness which occasioned it. On the contrary, I admire Hannibal, who in all the battles he fought, the number of which was so great, that it would be a labour to reckon them up, never received a wound;

\* Plutarch here transfers to the Carthaginians that fine encomium, which Horace makes Hannibal give the Romans.

*quos optimus*  
*Fallere & effugere est triumphus.*

and I cannot but applaud Chryfantes \* in the Cyropædia, who having his sword lifted up and ready to strike, upon hearing the trumpets sound a retreat, calmly and modestly retired, without giving the stroke. But what may plead Pelopidas's excuse is, that, besides being transported and hurried on by the heat of battle, his heroic ardour was further inflamed by a brave and noble desire of revenge. For, as Euripides says,

*With life preserv'd to triumph o'er the foe,  
Is the first glory valiant chiefs can know:  
Is this denied, and death by heav'n decreed?  
'Tis their next praise in honour's cause to bleed.*

In such a man dying is a free and voluntary action, not a suffering as in other men. But beside the anger and resentment with which Pelopidas was fired, the end proposed in conquering, which was the death of a tyrant, was some excuse for its rashness; and it would be difficult to find another instance in which so much might be said to justify an action of this kind.

But as to Marcellus, the case is quite different; he lay under no urgent necessity, he was not carried away by that fury and enthusiasm that stifles reason, and shuts the eyes in the greatest danger; but he threw himself headlong into it, and died, not like a general, but like a scout, or spy, exposing his five consulates, his three triumphs, the spoils of kings, with all his trophies and laurels, to a company of Spanish and Numidian adventurers, mercenary wretches, who had sold their lives to the Carthaginians for hire: an accident so strange and surprising, that they in some measure even envied themselves such an unhopèd-for success, that the bravest, most powerful, and most renowned of all

\* He was an officer in Cyrus's army, mentioned by Xenophon in the beginning of the fourth book of his Cyropædia.

the Romans should fall by their hands at the head of a few Fregellanian scouts.

But let it not be thought that what I have said here is designed as an accusation against these great men, but rather as a complaint to them of the injury done themselves in preferring their courage to all their other virtues, and as a free expostulation with them for being so prodigal of their lives, and dying for their own sakes, and not for the service of their country, their friends, and their allies.

Pelopidas was buried by his friends, in whose cause he was slain, and Marcellus by those very enemies that slew him. The former was a happiness that might be envied; but the latter was more great and glorious: since it is much more for an enemy to admire and honour that virtue by which he has suffered, than for a friend to be grateful to that which has been beneficial to him. In the first case, the honour is pure and sincere; in the last, more regard is had to interest than to real worth and virtue.

THE



# THE LIFE OF ARISTIDES.

**A**ristides, the son of Lyfimachus, was of the tribe of Antiochis, and ward of Alopece. Concerning his estate, authors are not agreed. Some affirm that he was always very poor, and that he left two daughters behind him, who remained a long time unmarried by reason of their poverty. But Demetrius the Phalerean contradicts this general opinion in his Socrates, and affirms, that he knew a farm at Phalera, that went by Aristides's name, where he was buried; and to shew the wealthy condition of his family, he produces three proofs. The first is the office of that Archon, by whose name the year was distinguished \*, and which fell to him by lot; to which office none were admitted but such as, by the valuation of their estates, appeared to be of the greatest eminence, and who having an income of five hundred measures of corn, or some other produce, were called *Pentacosmedimnoi*. The second proof is the ostracism, which was never inflicted on the meaner sort, but only upon persons of quality and distinction, whose grandeur and authority exposed them to the envy of the people.

\* *Ἐπώνυμον Ἀρχὴν*. At Athens they reckoned the years by their archons, as the Romans did theirs by their consuls. One of the nine archons was for this purpose chosen by lot out of the rest, and his name inscribed in the public records or registers.

The third and last proof is taken from the tripods which Aristides dedicated in the temple of Bacchus, as offerings for his victory at the public games, and which continue there to this day, with this inscription on them, *The tribe Antiochis obtained the victory, Aristides defrayed the charges, and Archestratus's play was acted.*

But this last proof, though in appearance the strongest of all, is, in reality, very weak: for Epaminondas, who, as every one knows, lived and died poor, and Plato the philosopher, exhibited very expensive shows; the former defraying the charge of a concert of flutes at Thebes, and the latter of an entertainment of singing performed by boys at Athens; Dion having supplied Plato, and Pelopidas Epaminondas with what money was necessary for that purpose: for good men have not sworn an irreconcilable enmity to the presents of their friends; they look indeed upon those that are taken to be hoarded, and with an avaricious intention, as vile and dishonourable, but refuse them not when honour and reputation may be served by them without any suspicion of avarice.

As to the tripod in the temple of Bacchus, Pannæus shows plainly that Demetrius was deceived by the similitude of names: for, from the time of the Median to the end of the Peloponnesian war, there are upon record only two of the name of *Aristides* who carried the prize at the shows they exhibited, neither of which was the son of Lyfimachus; for the first of the two was the son of Xenophilus, and the latter lived long after, as appears from the characters, which were not in use till after Euclid's time, and likewise from the name of the poet *Archestratus*\*, which is not to be found in any record

\* The learned Vossius should not have placed the poet Archestratus among such as lived at a time not certainly known, since we find here that he flourished during the Peloponnesian war, which lasted twenty-seven years.

or author, during the wars with the Medes; whereas it appears, that a poet of that name had several plays acted in the time of the Peloponnesian war. But this argument of Panætius's ought to be more thoroughly examined.

As for the ostracism, it is very certain that it fell indifferently upon all that were any way distinguished by birth, reputation, or eloquence; so that even Damon, preceptor to Pericles, was banished by it on account of his extraordinary abilities. And further, Idomeneus says, that Aristides did not obtain the office of Archon by lot, but by the choice of the people. And indeed, if this happened after the battle of Plataeæ, as the same Demetrius writes \*, it is highly probable, that having gained such renown by his achievements, he was called to this high office for his virtue, though it was conferred upon others, on account of their wealth. But it is plain, that Demetrius was resolved to free Socrates, as well as Aristides, from the charge of poverty, as if it were a crime or reproach to be poor; since he affirms, that the former, besides a house of his own, had seventy minæ at interest with Crito †.

Aristides had an intimate friendship with Clisthenes, who settled the government of the commonwealth after the expulsion of the tyrants ‡. He had

\* But Demetrius was mistaken; for Aristides never was Archon after the battle of Plataeæ, which was fought in the second year of the seventy-fifth Olympiad. In the list of Archons the name of Aristides is found in the fourth year of the seventy-second Olympiad, a year or two after the battle of Marathon; and in the second year of the seventy-fourth Olympiad, four years before the battle of Plataeæ.

† This appears to be false from what Socrates himself says in his apology to his judges, where he declares, that, considering his poverty, they could not condemn him to pay a fine of more than one mina, and if he should be fined thirty minæ, it would be only because Crito, Critobulus, and Apollodorus were resolved to pay his fine for him. The falsity of this likewise appears from what Crito said to Socrates in prison, as it is related in the dialogue so called.

‡ Plutarch does not mean the thirty tyrants, but the Pisistratidæ, whose expulsion was an hundred and fifteen years earlier than that of the thirty tyrants.



a particular veneration and esteem for **Lycurgus** the Spartan, above all other legislators; and thence he came to be a favourer of aristocracy, wherein he was always opposed by **Themistocles**, who was zealous for a popular government. Some authors write indeed, that being bred up together from their infancy, when they were boys they were always at variance, not only in serious matters, but even at their sports and diversions; and that the difference of their tempers was discovered very early by this continual opposition; the one being compliant, daring, artful, and subtle to compass his ends, variable and inconstant, but eager and impetuous in his pursuits; whereas the other was firm and steady in his behaviour, immoveable in every thing that appeared just, and incapable of using the least falsehood, flattery, disguise, or deceit, so much as in jest. But **Aristo of Chios** \* writes, that their enmity took its rise from love, and from thence grew to so great a height; for being both enamoured of **Stesileus** of the island of **Ceos**, the most beautiful youth of his time, they were unable to restrain their passion within bounds, but conceived such a jealousy and hatred of each other as survived the beauty of the boy; and as if this had been an exercise to prepare them for future quarrels, they soon after entered upon the administration of public affairs, heated and exasperated by their former animosity.

As for **Themistocles**, by his management at first, and by gaining friends, he strengthened himself

\* There have been several writers of this name; the two principal of which are **Aristo of Chios**, a Stoic, and **Aristo of Ceos**, a Peripatetic philosopher: they have been often confounded. What **Plutarch** relates here, was certainly taken from a work entitled *ἑρωτικὰν διατριβήν*, or *ἑρωτικὰ ἔργα*, which was a collection of love-intrigues. Some ascribe it to **Aristo of Chios**, and others, among whom is **Athenæus**, to **Aristo of Ceos**. As such a work seems more agreeable to a Peripatetic, than to a Stoic philosopher, I think we should here read **Aristo of Ceos**.

with a considerable interest and authority; so that to one, who told him, *he would govern the Athenians admirably, provided he would take care to avoid partiality*; he replied, *May I never sit on a tribunal where my friends will not meet with more favour and respect than strangers.*

On the contrary, Aristides was very particular in his manner of governing: for, first of all, he would never do the least injustice to oblige his friends, nor yet disoblige them by denying all they asked, and refusing to grant the least and most inconsiderable favour: and in the next place, observing that most rulers, relying on the power of their friends, are led to abuse their authority, and be guilty of injustice, he guarded carefully against it; for it was his opinion, that a good citizen ought to make his whole strength and security consist in advising and doing always what is just and fit to be done. In the mean time, Themistocles made several rash attempts, opposing him in all his designs, and breaking all his measures; which put him under a necessity of thwarting Themistocles in whatever he proposed, as well in his own defence, and by way of retaliation, as to put a stop to his growing power, which increased daily through the favour of the people. For he thought it better to obstruct some things that might even be advantageous to the public, than to suffer Themistocles to become absolute. Once when Themistocles had proposed an affair of great importance and advantage, Aristides opposed it strenuously, and with success; but as he went out of the assembly, he could not forbear saying aloud, *That the Athenians would never be safe till they threw Themistocles and himself into the Barathrum* \*. Another time he proposed something to the people which met with great op-

\* The *Barathrum* was a deep pit into which condemned persons were thrown headlong.

position;

position; however at last he prevailed; notwithstanding which, just as the president was going to put it to the question, he let the matter drop of his own accord, having been convinced, by the preceding debates, of the inconveniencies that would attend it. He likewise proposed his sentiments very often by a second or third hand, for fear Themistocles, out of envy and hatred to him, might oppose what would be for the good of the public.

But what was much to be admired in him, was his constancy and firmness in those sudden and unexpected changes, to which persons concerned in the high affairs of state are always liable. For he was never elated by any honours he received, nor dejected by the disappointments he met with, but was always serene and easy; it being his fixed opinion, that a man ought to be entirely at his country's command, and ready to serve it on all occasions, without the least prospect of honour or profit. For this reason, when the play of Æschylus, entitled *The seven leaders against Thebes*, was acted, at the speaking of these verses made by the poet in praise of Amphiaræus,

*For worth he wishes, but he scorns the show;*

*Fair virtue's meed his virtue can bestow;*

*From his own mind he reaps celestial fruit,*

*Where wisdom bids spontaneous harvests shoot\*.*

the eyes of all the audience were turned upon Aristides, as the person to whom this great encomium was most applicable. For he had so strong an inclination to justice, as not to be influenced against it

\* These verses are spoken by the courier who brings Eteocles an account of the enemies attacks, and of the persons that commanded among them; but Plutarch has changed one word, putting *δίκαιο*, just, instead of *ἀγίος*, valiant, which Æschylus used. He was not speaking of justice, but valour: the courier said, that Amphiaræus had no device or inscription on his shield like the rest; for, added he, "It is his aim not to appear brave, but to be so."



by favour or friendship, nor even by enmity and resentment. Accordingly it is reported of him, that when he was prosecuting one that had injured him, after he had finished his accusation, finding that the judges were going to pass sentence without hearing the person accused, he rose from his seat, and seconded the request of his adversary, who desired to be heard, and not to be denied the benefit of the law.

Another time sitting as judge in a cause between two private persons, when one of them said that *his adversary had done Aristides many injuries*, he interrupted him, saying, *Friend, tell me only what injuries he has done to thee; for it is thy cause, and not mine, which I sit to judge.*

Being chosen public treasurer, he soon made it appear that not only those of his time, but the preceding officers, had applied great sums of the public money to their own use, and particularly Themistocles;

*For he, though wise, could ne'er command his hands.*  
For which reason, when Aristides was to give in his accounts, Themistocles raised a strong party against him, accused him of misapplying the public money, and procured his condemnation, as Idomeneus writes: but the chief and best men of the city opposing so unjust a sentence, he was not only acquitted of the fine imposed on him, but likewise appointed treasurer for the following year. Whereupon, pretending to disapprove of his former conduct, he made himself acceptable to such as robbed the public, by being less rigorous in examining their accounts and exposing their frauds; so that they gave him the highest commendations, and made interest with the people to continue him in his office another year. But on the day of election, as the Athenians were just going unanimously to appoint him again, he rebuked them severely, saying,

saying, *When I discharged my office faithfully and honourably, I was reviled and disgraced; but now, when I have suffered your treasure to be plundered by these public robbers, I am admired and applauded as the best of citizens. I am therefore more ashamed of the honour done me to-day, than of the sentence passed against me last year; and it is with indignation and concern that I see you esteem it more meritorious to oblige ill men, than faithfully to manage the public revenue.* By speaking thus, and discovering their frauds, he stopped the mouths of all those robbers of the public, who were at the very same time extolling him, and giving ample testimony in his behalf, and likewise gained the just and real applause of all good men.

When Datis, who was sent by the King of Persia, under pretence of revenging on the Athenians their burning of Sardis, but in reality to conquer all Greece, arrived with his fleet at Marathon, and began to plunder and ravage all the neighbouring country, the Athenians appointed ten generals to command in this war, of whom Miltiades was the chief; and the next to him in reputation and authority was Aristides. In a council of war that was held, Miltiades declared for giving the enemy battle, and Aristides seconding his opinion contributed not a little to their coming to that resolution \*. And as these generals had the chief command by turns, when the day came that gave Aristides the command, he resigned it to Miltiades, thereby showing the rest of the commanders, that it was in no respect inglorious to follow the direction of the wisest men; but, on the contrary, very honourable and

\* In this council, the majority was against hazarding a battle, for this reason, because the enemy was superior in number; but Miltiades having brought over Callimachus to his side, who was Polemarch at that time, and whose authority was equal to that of the ten generals, the opinion for fighting prevailed. Aristides probably had a great share in bringing Callimachus to this resolution; and thus Plutarch and Herodotus may be reconciled.

advantageous.

advantageous. By this means he prevented all jealousy and contention, made them sensible of their happiness in being guided by a person of the best experience, and confirmed Miltiades in an absolute and undivided command of the army, the other generals no longer minding when it came to their turn, but submitting, in every thing, entirely to his orders \*.

In this battle the main body of the Athenian army being hard pressed, and suffering much, because the Barbarians made their greatest efforts there for a long time against the tribes Leontis and Antiochis †, Themistocles and Aristides, who belonged to these tribes, and fought together at the head of them, opposed the enemy with such vigour and resolution, that they were put to flight, and driven back to their ships. But the Greeks perceiving, that, instead of sailing towards the isles in order to return to Asia, the Barbarians were forced in by the winds and currents towards Attica ‡; and fearing lest they should surprise the city unprovided for a defence, they hastened to its assistance with nine tribes, and marched with such expedition, that they arrived there the same day ||.

Aristides

\* Plutarch here omits mentioning one particular in Miltiades's conduct, which deserves notice, and which is related by Herodotus; that though the other generals had given up to him their respective turns, yet Miltiades would not fight on any of the 1 days of command, but waited for his own. For no doubt he was afraid that the person whose turn he took, had resigned his command unwillingly, and only to follow the example of others, and that out of envy to him he would be less careful to do his duty in the battle, because he would not be very forward to contribute to the reputation of him, who, as it were, took the command out of his hand.

† For the main body was worse provided and weaker than the wings, for which reason, the barbarians made their greatest efforts there. *Herodot. lib. iv.*

‡ Herodotus observes particularly, that they designed to double the cape of Sunium, to surprise Athens before the Athenians could arrive to assist it. And Herodotus's testimony in this matter is of very great weight, because he had learned the particulars of the battle of Marathon, from some that had been present at it.

|| From Marathon to Athens is about forty miles. Herodotus writes,



Aristides being left with his tribe at Marathon to guard the prisoners and booty, fully answered the good opinion that had been conceived of him ; for though there was much gold and silver in several parts of the camp, and all the tents and ships they had taken, were full of sumptuous apparel, furniture, and riches of all sorts ; yet he forbore touching any thing himself, and did all he could to hinder every one else from meddling with any part of it. But, notwithstanding his strict orders, there were some who enriched themselves unknown to him ; among whom was Callias the torch-bearer \*. One of the Barbarians meeting him privately, and probably taking him for a King on account of his long hair, and the fillet about his head, fell on his knees before him, and taking him by the hand, discovered to him a great quantity of gold that was hid in the bottom of a well. But Callias showed himself on this occasion the most cruel and unjust of men ; for, not satisfied with the whole treasure, he killed the poor wretch upon the spot, to prevent his discovering it to others. From thence it is said, the comic poets called his family *Laccopluti*, [*enriched by the well*], jesting on the place from whence their founder derived his wealth. Soon after this battle Aristides was chosen first Archon, or the Archon from whence the year takes its name ; though Demetrius Phalereus assures us, that he never enjoyed that office till after the battle of Plataeæ, a little before his death ; but if we consult the public registers, we shall no where find A-

writes, that they marched from about the temple of Hercules at Marathon, and encamped near his temple at Cynosarges, before Athens.

\* This office of torch-bearer was very considerable, because he was admitted to the most secret mysteries. We find that Pausanias, in his Attics, thinks a woman's good fortune very great, because she had seen her brother, her husband, and her son, successively enjoy this office. This Callias was cousin-german to Aristides, as will appear hereafter.

Aristides's

ristides's name in the list of Archons after Xanthippides, in the time of whose archonship Mardonius was defeated at Plataeæ, whereas his name may be seen upon record immediately after Phanippus, who was Archon that year the battle of Marathon was fought \*.

Of all Aristides's virtues, the best known, and that by which he was most distinguished, was his justice, as being of most constant use, and of the greatest extent. Thence, from being a person of mean fortune and birth, he acquired the most royal and divine appellation of *Just*, a title kings and tyrants were never fond of. They rather chuse to be stiled *Poliorcetes*, [*takers of cities*], *Cerauni*, [*thunderbolts*]; *Nicanors*, [*conquerors*.] Nay some have been pleased with the appellation of *Eagles* and *Vultures*, preferring the fame of power to that of virtue. Whereas the Deity himself, to whom they are fond of being compared, seems to be distinguished only by three things, immortality, power, and virtue; of which virtue is without dispute the most venerable and divine: for space and the elements are immortal; earthquakes, thunder, whirlwinds, and inundations, have an amazing power; but as for justice, nothing participates of that, but what is capable of reasoning, and knowing the divine essence. And whereas men are possessed with three different sentiments with respect to the gods, either of admiration, of fear, or of esteem, they seem to admire them, and think them happy by reason of their freedom from death and corruption, to fear them on account of their power and empire over the world, and to love, honour,

\* The registers show Phanippus to have been Archon in the third year of the seventy-second Olympiad. It was therefore in this third year that the battle of Marathon was fought, and not in the first, as most learned men have thought. Aristides was Archon the year following, as he is set down in the fourth year of the seventy-second Olympiad.

and reverence them for their justice; yet being thus affected towards the Deity in these three different ways, they desire only the two first of those properties, immortality, of which our nature is incapable; and power, which chiefly depends on fortune; while they foolishly neglect virtue, the only divine good that is in our own power; not considering that justice alone makes the life of such as enjoy prosperity and power, heavenly and divine, whereas injustice renders it groveling and brutal. The surname of *Just* at first procured Aristides love and respect, but at last envy; and this was chiefly owing to the secret practices of Themistocles, who spread a report among the people, that Aristides had abolished all courts of judicature, by making himself sole arbitrator and judge in all disputes, and thus had insensibly erected a monarchy in his own person, though without guards and attendants. The people, who were grown insolent upon their late success, thinking themselves worthy of greater honours, and resolving that every thing should depend on their pleasure, were violently bent against every man of superior eminence and reputation. Wherefore being assembled at Athens from all the towns of Attica, they banished Aristides by the ostracism; disguising their envy of his glory under the specious name of hatred to tyranny. For this exile was not a punishment for any crime or misdemeanour, but only a kind of honourable retirement, which they called a curb and restraint to overgrown pride and power; but it was in reality a mild gratification of envy; for by this means, whoever was offended at the growing greatness of another, discharged all his spleen and malice, not in any thing that was severe and cruel, but only in a ten years banishment. But, after some mean and worthless wretches, and at last Hyperbolus, had been condemned to this honourable exile, the Athenians desisted from any further use of it. The occasion  
of



of Hyperbolus's banishment by the ostracism was this.

Alcibiades and Nicias, two persons of the greatest power and authority in the city, were at the head of two opposite factions; but finding that the people were about to have recourse to the ostracism, and that it would undoubtedly fall upon one of them, they consulted together, and uniting their interests contrived to turn it against Hyperbolus: Whereupon the people, full of indignation at the contempt and dishonour brought upon that kind of punishment, abolished it, and used it no more. The manner of voting in the ostracism was this. Every citizen took a piece of a broken pot, or shell, on which having wrote the name of the person he would have banished, he carried it to a certain part of the market-place that was inclosed with wooden rails. Then the magistrates began to count the number of the shells; for if they were less than six thousand, the ostracism was void; but if the number was complete, then they laid every name apart by itself, and that person, whose name was found on the greatest number of shells, was declared banished for ten years, but with permission to enjoy his estate.

At the time that Aristides was banished, when the citizens were inscribing their names on the shells, it is reported, that an ignorant illiterate man came to Aristides, whom he took for some ordinary person, and giving him his shell, desired him to write *Aristides* on it; he a little surpris'd at the adventure, asked the man if Aristides had ever injured him; to which the other replied, *Not in the least, neither do I so much as know him, but I am weary with hearing him every where called the Just.* Aristides made no answer, but took the shell, and having written his own name on it, returned it to the man. As he went out of the city to his banishment, lifting up his eyes to heaven, he made a prayer to the

gods, quite contrary, as may easily be imagined, to that of Achilles \*; for he prayed, *that the Athenians might never see that day which should force them to remember Aristides.*

Three years after, when Xerxes was marching to Attica through Thessaly and Bœotia, the Athenians repealed this law, and made a public decree to call home all the exiles. What induced them to this was their fear of Aristides; for they were apprehensive that he by siding with the enemy might corrupt and bring over many of the citizens to their interest: but herein they very much mistook his character; for, before this decree, he constantly advised and encouraged the Greeks to maintain their liberty; and after it, when Themistocles was chosen general of the army, he joined with him, and assisted him both with his person and counsel; thus, out of regard to the public good, advancing his greatest enemy to the highest pitch of glory. For when Eurybiades † the general had resolved to quit Salamin, and the enemy's ships sailing by night, had in a manner surrounded the islands without any one's knowing that the army was encompassed, Aristides sailed from Ægina by night, and having passed with great danger through the enemy's whole fleet, came at last to Themistocles's tent, where, having called him out by himself, he spoke to him in these words: *If we are wise, Themistocles, we shall now for ever lay aside that vain and childish contention that has hitherto been between us, and begin a more salutary and honourable emulation, by contending which of*

\* In the first book of the Iliad.

† Eurybiades a Spartan was commander of the whole fleet. In a council of war that was held, all the officers were of opinion to leave their post at Salamin, to go and fight the enemy before the isthmus; and their reason was, that if they should happen to be beaten at Salamin, they would be besieged in the island, and have no assistance; whereas if that should happen to them before the isthmus, they might retire every one to his own country. Themistocles was of another opinion.

us two shall do most for the safety of Greece, you by performing the part of a general, and I, by obeying and assisting you with my person and advice. I understand that you alone have determined rightly, advising to engage in the straits without delay \*. Your allies oppose you, but the enemy seems to assist you; for the sea all round us is covered and shut up by their fleet, so that they who were unwilling to come to an engagement must be forced to fight, and show themselves men of courage, there being no room left for flight.

To this Themistocles replied, I am ashamed, Aristides, at your having got the start of me in this noble emulation; I shall use my utmost endeavours to outdo this beginning by my future actions. At the same time he acquainted him with the stratagem he had contrived to ensnare the Barbarians †, and begged him to persuade Eurybiades to venture a battle, and to show him the impossibility of saving themselves without it; for Aristides had much the greater influence over him. Therefore when at a council of war, where all the general officers assisted, Cleocritus the Corinthian told Themistocles, that Aristides did not approve his advice, since he was there present, and said nothing at all; Aristides answered, You are mistaken; for had not Themistocles proposed

\* For Themistocles was of opinion, that they ought to fight the enemy at Salamin; and he represented to Eurybiades, that being inferior in the number, as well as strength of ships, they would have an advantage by fighting in that strait, which would hinder the enemy from making use of their whole force; whereas if they went before the isthmus, besides losing Salamin, Megara, and Ægina, they would fight to a great disadvantage on the open sea against a superior fleet; and that all the troops would desert them, and march back to their own country, so that they would have no army left. Herodotus writes, that Themistocles was not the first that gave this advice, but one Mnesiphilus an Athenian.

† This stratagem was to give the enemy a secret information that the Greeks intended to abandon Salamin, and that they had nothing more to do than to hinder their retreat from thence, in order to have them at their mercy. The person intrusted to manage and convey this intelligence was named Sicinus. See the life of Themistocles, and Herodotus, viii. 75.

what



what is most expedient, I should have declared my own sentiments, and my silence is not owing to any favour to his person, but to my approbation of his advice. While the Grecian commanders were engaged in these debates, Aristides perceiving that Psytalia, a little island lying in the straits overagainst Salamin, was entirely possessed by the enemy's troops, put on board his small transports some of the most brave and resolute of his countrymen, and landing with them there, attacked the enemy with such fury, that they were all cut to pieces, except some of the principal persons who were made prisoners. Among these were three sons of Sandauce the king's sister, whom Aristides sent immediately to Themistocles; and it is said, that at the command of a certain oracle, by the direction of Euphrantides the diviner, they were sacrificed to Bacchus surnamed *O-mestes*.

After this, Aristides placed troops all round the island to watch all such as should happen to be thrown upon it, that so none of his friends might perish, nor any of his enemies escape; for the greatest stress and fury of the battle seems to have lain thereabouts; and therefore a trophy was erected in that island.

When the battle was over, Themistocles, in order to discover Aristides's sentiments, spoke thus: *We have performed a great exploit, but a greater still remains, which is, to take all Asia even in Europe, by sailing directly to the Hellespont, and breaking down the bridge that Xerxes has left there for his retreat.* But Aristides exclaimed loudly against this project, and desired Themistocles to give over all thoughts of it, telling him, that he ought rather to consider how they might drive the Medes speedily out of Greece, lest so powerful an army finding themselves shut up, and no way left for their escape, despair might rouse their courage, and force them to an obstinate defence.

Themistocles

Themistocles therefore sent a second time to Xerxes by Arnaces the eunuch, one of the captives, whom he ordered to acquaint the king privately, that, out of a desire to serve him, he had used his utmost endeavours to divert the Greeks from their design of cutting down the bridge over the Hellespont \*. Xerxes, alarmed at the danger that seemed to threaten him, sailed immediately back towards the Hellespont with his whole fleet, leaving Mardonius behind him with a land-army composed of three hundred thousand of his best troops.

This great number of forces made the king's lieutenant-general very dreadful to the Greeks, and their fears were heightened by his menaces, and the haughty letters he wrote to them: *You have, said he, in one of them, overcome, at sea, men unskilled at the oar, and only accustomed to fight on land; but the plains of Thessaly and Bœotia offer us a fair opportunity to try the bravery of our horse and foot.* But he wrote particular letters to the Athenians, in which he made them offers from the king, to rebuild their city, to give them large sums of money, and to make them masters of all Greece, upon condition they would withdraw their forces, and give their allies no further assistance †. The Lacedæmonians having intelligence of these proposals, and fearing they might be accepted, sent ambassadors to Athens ‡, to entreat the Athenians to send

\* Themistocles was overjoyed at Aristides's proposal; because he plainly saw, that it put it in his power to serve his country, by obliging Xerxes to retreat; and at the same time to make a merit of his advice with the king; for it appears plainly from Herodotus's whole account, that Themistocles had a mind to procure the favour and interest of this prince.

† Herodotus makes no mention of these letters, but says, he sent to them Alexander king of Macedon, the son of Amyntas; and the seventh in a lineal descent from Perdiccas; and he relates the speech made by him in their public assemblies, and the answer made to it by the Spartan deputies, lib. viii. 140. 141.

‡ According to Herodotus they sent these ambassadors, not upon a

ny

their wives and children to Sparta for their greater safety, and to accept from them of what was necessary for the sustenance and support of such as were in years; for the people, being despoiled both of their city and country, suffered an extreme poverty \*. When the Athenians had heard the ambassadors, they made them such an answer, by the direction of Aristides, as can never be sufficiently admired; they said, *They forgave their enemies, if they thought every thing was to be purchased for money, because perhaps they knew nothing of greater value; but that they were highly offended that the Lacedæmonians should regard only their present poverty and distress, and, forgetful of the Athenian honour and virtue, should think that an allowance of bread to their poor would be the only sufficient motive to induce them to continue firm to their alliance, and to fight for the safety of Greece.* This answer being approved of, all the ambassadors were brought into the assembly. Aristides then ordered those from Sparta to acquaint the Lacedæmonians, *That all the gold upon earth, and all that was contained within the bowels of it, was not so valuable to the Athenians as the liberty of Greece; and to those that came from Mardonius, showing them the sun, he said, That so long as that luminary continued its course, so long would the Athenians wage war against the Persians, to revenge the plundering and wasting of their country, and the profanation and burning of their temples.* He

ny intelligence they had received of these proposals, but upon the first news of Alexander's leaving the army under Mardonius; for they very much suspected the occasion of this journey. Besides, they called to mind the predictions of certain oracles which increased their fears; for they threatened both them and all the Dorians with being driven out of Peloponnesus by the Medes and Athenians. Accordingly these ambassadors arrived at Athens soon after Alexander, and were present at the first audience he had of the people.

\* Herodotus relates the discourse these ambassadors made to the people at their audience, viii. 142. Plutarch has only slightly mentioned the heads of it. They did not propose to the Athenians to send their wives and children to Sparta, but only offered to maintain them during the war.

likewise



likewise preferred a decree, that whosoever should send any embassy to the Medes, or desert the alliance of Greece, should be solemnly cursed by the priests.

When Mardonius made a second incursion into the country of Attica, the Athenians retired again into the island of Salamin. At that time Aristides being sent ambassador to Sparta, complained of the delay and neglect of the Lacedæmonians, reproached them with their abandoning Athens again to the Barbarians, and earnestly exhorted them to march with all speed to the relief of that part of Greece which was not yet fallen into the enemy's hands. The Ephori having heard this representation seemed very little moved at it \*, but spent the whole day in feasting and merriment, it happening to be the festival of Hyacinthus †. But at night they dispatched five thousand Spartans, each of them taking with him seven Helots, and sent them away privately, unknown to the Athenians. Some days after Aristides complaining again to the council, the Ephori told him smiling, *That he must needs either dote or dream; since their army was by that time as far as Orestium, on their march against the foreigners; for so the Lacedæmonians called the Barbarians.* Aristides told them, *it was not then a time to jest, and divert themselves with deceiving their friends instead of their enemies.* This is Idomeneus's account of the matter: but in Aristides's decree, he is not men-

\* They deferred giving him an answer till the next day, and then till the day following, and so from day to day, till they had gained ten days, in which time they finished the wall that guarded the isthmus, and secured them against the Barbarians.

† Among the Lacedæmonians the feast of Hyacinthus lasted three days; the first and last were days of sorrow and mourning for Hyacinthus's death, but the second was a day of rejoicing; there were feasts, plays, shows, and all kind of diversions: and it is very evident that this passage of Plutarch is to be understood of this second day. This feast was celebrated annually in the month of August, in honour of Apollo and Hyacinthus.

tioned as an ambassador, the ambassadors, being Cimon, Antiphanes and Myronides.

Being some time after appointed chief commander of the Athenian forces, he marched with eight thousand foot to Plataeæ. There Pausanias, general of all Greece, joined him with the Spartans, and the other Grecian troops arrived daily in great numbers. The Barbarian army was encamped along the side of the river Asopus, and occupied an immense tract of ground; in the middle of it there was a square wall thrown up, each side of which was ten furlongs in length, for the security of their baggage and other things of value.

In the Grecian army there was a diviner of Elis, named *Tisamenus* \*, who had foretold Pausanias, and all the Greeks, that they should infallibly obtain the victory, provided they forbore to attack the enemy, and stood only on their own defence. And Aristides having sent to consult the oracle at Delphi, the god answered, *That the Athenians should gain the victory over their enemies, provided they made their supplications to Jupiter, to Juno the patroness of Mount Citheron, to Pan, and to the nymphs Sphragitides †; and sacrificed to the heroes, Androcrates, Leucon, Pisander, Damocrates, Hypsion, Asteon, and Polydus; and fought only in their own country, in the plain of Ceres the Eleusinian and Proserpine.*

\* An oracle had formerly promised this Tisamenus five great victories. The Spartans being informed of this, had a mind to have him for their diviner, and made him considerable offers; but he demanded to be made a citizen of Sparta, which they refused. Upon the approach of the Persians, the Spartans offered him what they had refused before; but he insisted on having the same honour bestowed on his brother Hegias, which was granted. And these are the only two foreigners that ever were made citizens of Sparta. *Herodot. i. 31.*

† The nymphs of Mount Citheron were named *Sphragitides*, from the cave called *Sphragidion*. This name probably came from the respect and silence that was observed in relation to every thing that happened in the cave, for fear of offending the nymphs, and incurring their displeasure. For *σφραγίς* signifies a seal, from whence they say *σφραγίδα γλώσση ἐπιχρῖσθαι*, *Os signatum habere*, to express absolute silence.

This

This answer of the oracle very much perplexed Aristides; for the heroes to whom it commanded to offer sacrifice were the ancestors of the Plataeans; and the cave of the nymphs Sphragitides was on one of the summits of Mount Citheron, on that side which in the summer-season is opposite to the setting sun; in that cave, it is said, there was formerly an oracle, and many, who dwelt in those parts, were inspired by it, and were from thence called *Nympholepti*, that is, *possessed by the nymphs*. But on the other side, to promise victory to the Athenians, upon condition only of fighting in their own country, and in the plain of the Eleusinian Ceres, was to transfer the war again into Attica.

In the mean time Arimnestus, the general of the Plataeans, dreamed, that Jupiter the Saviour came to him, and asked him, *What resolution the Grecians had taken?* to which he answered, *To-morrow we shall decamp and remove our army into the territories of Eleusis, and there fight the Barbarians, according to the directions of the oracle.* To which the god replied, *That they were quite mistaken; for the place mentioned by the oracle was the country round Plataeæ, and that they would find it to be so upon inquiry.* After so plain a vision, Arimnestus, as soon as he awoke, sent for the most aged and experienced of his countrymen, and having advised with them, found at last, that not far from Husia, at the foot of Mount Citheron, there was a very old temple, called *the temple of Eleusinian Ceres and Proserpine*. He immediately led Aristides to the place, which they found very commodious for drawing up an army of foot, that was not well provided with cavalry, because the bottom of Mount Citheron extending as far as the temple, rendered it inaccessible to horse. Besides, in the same place was the temple of the hero Androcrates, quite overgrown and covered by trees and thickets. And that the oracle might be obeyed in every particular, to confirm their hopes of victory,



the Platæans, upon the motion of Arimnestus made a decree to alter the boundaries between their country and Greece, enlarging the territories of Attica, that so the Athenians, according to the direction of the oracle, might give the enemy battle within their own dominions. The Platæans became so renowned for this generosity, that many years after, when Alexander had conquered all Asia, he caused the walls of Platææ to be rebuilt, and proclamation to be made by an herald at the Olympic games, *That he did the Platæans this favour for their virtue and generosity, of which they had given such signal proofs in the war with the Medes, by making over their country to the Athenians, for the safety of Greece.*

When it was proposed to draw up the whole army in order of battle, a great dispute arose between the Tegeatæ and the Athenians; the Tegeatæ pretending, that as the Lacedæmonians, in all battles, commanded the right wing, so the honour of commanding the left was their due; and to justify this pretension, they alleged the memorable exploits of their ancestors. As the Athenians were highly enraged at this, Aristides advancing in the midst of them, said, *It is not now a time to contest with the Tegeatæ concerning their valour and exploits; we shall content ourselves with telling you, O Spartans, and all the rest of the Greeks, that it is not the post that gives courage, or takes it away, and that whatever post you shall assign us, we will endeavour to render it honourable, and maintain it in such a manner as to reflect no disgrace on our former achievements. We are come hither, not to contend with our friends, but to fight with our enemies; not to boast of our ancestors, but to show our own bravery in the defence of Greece; for this battle will distinguish the particular merit of each city, commander, and private soldier.* The council of war having heard this, declared in favour of the Athenians, and gave them the command of the left wing.

While

While the fate of all Greece was in suspense, and the Athenians in particular found themselves in very difficult and dangerous circumstances, several of the most noble and wealthy citizens seeing that they were ruined by the war, and that with their wealth they had lost all their credit and authority in the city, others being advanced in their room, and enjoying the honours they had lost, assembled privately in a house at Plataeæ, and conspired a dissolution of the Athenian government; resolving, if they miscarried in their design, to ruin every thing, and betray all Greece to the Barbarians.

When Aristides discovered this conspiracy, which was carried on in the camp, and found that great numbers were already corrupted and won over, he was at first very much alarmed on account of the present juncture, and unresolved what course to pursue; but at last he determined neither wholly to neglect an affair of that consequence, nor yet to search too minutely into it: for not knowing how many might be engaged in it, he judged it adviseable to sacrifice justice, in some measure, to the public good, by forbearing to prosecute all that were guilty. Out of the whole number he caused eight only to be apprehended, and of those eight, only two to be proceeded against, as being most guilty, Æschines of Lampra, and Agefias of Acharnes, who made their escape out of the camp during the prosecution. As for the rest, he discharged them; giving them thereby an opportunity to recover from their fear, and repent, as they might imagine that nothing had been found against them; but he told them at the same time, *That the battle would be the tribunal, where they might justify themselves, and make it appear, that they had never pursued any counsels, but what were just and useful to their country.*

After this, Mardonius \*, to try the Grecian courage,

\* Here Plutarch follows authorities that differ from Herodotus; O o 2 though

rage, sent his cavalry, in which he was strongest, to skirmish with them. The Greeks were encamped at the foot of Mount Citheron, in strong and stony places, except the Megarensians, who, to the number of three thousand, were encamped in the plain; by which means they were the more exposed to the enemy's horse, who attacked them on every side. They therefore sent to Pausanias for assistance, being unable to oppose the superior power of the enemy. Pausanias hearing this, and seeing the camp of the Megarensians as it were darkened and covered by the great number of the barbarian darts and arrows, and that they were forced to contract themselves within a narrow compass, was at a loss what to resolve on; for he saw no way of attacking the enemy with his heavy-armed Spartans. He endeavoured therefore to awaken the emulation of the officers and commanders that were about him, that they might make it a point of honour voluntarily to undertake the defence and succour of the Megarensians. But Aristides perceiving that they all declined it, made an offer of his Athenians, and at the same time gave his orders to Olympiodorus, the bravest of all his officers, who had a body of three hundred men, and some archers under his command. They were all ready in a moment, and marched against the Barbarians with the utmost expedition. Masistius, general of the Persian horse, a man distinguished for his strength and graceful mien, as soon as he saw them, turned his horse, and made toward them. The Athenians received him with great firmness and resolution; whereupon a sharp contest ensued, as if the event of the war

though Herodotus seems more worthy of credit than all the rest, as he was contemporary with Aristides; for he was nine or ten years old when this battle was fought, and he wrote his account of it from persons that were in the battle. He informs us that this happened before the Greeks left their camp at Erythræ, in order to encamp round Plataeæ, near Hufa, and before the contest between the Tegeatæ and the Athenians. L. ix. 19. 20. &c.

were



were to be determined from the success of this engagement. At last Masistius's horse being wounded with an arrow, threw his rider, who could not rise for the weight of his armour, nor yet be easily slain by the Athenians, who thronged about him, and assaulted him on every side; for not only his head and breast, but all his limbs were covered with gold, brass, and iron. But the vizor of his helmet leaving part of his face unguarded, a certain Athenian pierced him in the eye with his pike, and slew him; whereupon the Persians left his body, and fled \*. The great advantage gained by the Athenians did not appear from the number of the slain, very few lying dead upon the field of battle, but from the mourning of the Barbarians, who expressed such a grief for the death of Masistius, that they cut off their own hair, and that of their horses and mules, and filled all the camp with their cries, groans, and tears, as having lost the next person in the army to Mardonius, for courage as well as authority.

After this engagement against the barbarian horse, both armies continued a long time without coming to action; for the diviners that inspected the entrails of the sacrifices, had equally assured the Greeks and Persians of victory, if they remained only on the defensive, and threatened the aggressors with a total defeat. But at length, Mardonius finding that he had only a few days provision left, and that the Grecian forces increased continually by the daily arrival of fresh troops, grew impatient, and resolved to wait no longer, but to pass the river Asopus next morning by break of day, and to fall upon the Greeks, whom he expected to find unprepared. In order to this, he gave his orders to all the commanders and officers, over-night. But about mid-

\* On the contrary, Herodotus says they rallied, and charged again with great fury, in order to carry off his body, and that a sharp engagement ensued.

night a horseman came silently to the Grecian camp, and bid the centinels call Aristides the Athenian general to him; Aristides came immediately, and the other said to him, *I am Alexander king of Macedon, who, out of the friendship I bear you \*, have exposed myself to the greatest dangers, that you might not be so surprised by a sudden attack, as to behave with less bravery and resolution than usual. For Mardonius is determined to give you battle to-morrow; not that he is led to this by any well-grounded hope or prospect of success, but from a scarcity of provisions; for the augurs, by their ominous sacrifices and ill-boding oracles, endeavour to divert him from this enterprise, and his soldiers are fearful and desponding; but necessity forces him either to run the hazard of a battle, or by delaying to see his whole army perish for want.* When Alexander had said this, he desired Aristides to remember him as his friend, but not to reveal this intelligence to any other person. Aristides replied that it would not be proper to conceal it from Pausanias †, who was general of the army, but promised not to make the least mention of it to any other of the officers, till after the battle; assuring him at the same time, that if the Greeks proved victorious, not a man in the whole army should remain ignorant of the danger he had exposed himself to for their sakes, and the great kindness he had expressed to them on this important occasion.

After this, the king of Macedon returned back to his camp, and Aristides went directly to Pausanias's tent, and told him what he had heard; whereupon all the officers were sent for, and orders given to draw up the army, and prepare for battle. At the same time, as Herodotus writes, Pausanias

\* Herodotus mentions the reason of this great friendship of Alexander for the Greeks, which was, that he was originally of Grecian extraction.

† According to Herodotus, Alexander had excepted Pausanias out of his charge of secrecy, saying, *I intrust this secret with you, which you shall reveal to no man living but Pausanias.*

acquainted

acquainted Aristides with his design of altering the form of the army, by removing the Athenians from the left wing to the right, that so they might be opposite to the Persians, against whom they would fight with the more bravery, and greater assurance of victory, as having already made proof of their manner of combat, and being likewise animated by their former success; he intended to command the left wing himself, where he should be obliged to fight against those Greeks who had embraced the Median interest. All the other Athenian officers looked upon this behaviour of Pausanias as too haughty and insolent, to permit all the other Greeks to remain in their respective posts, and to take upon him to remove them, as if they were Helots, from place to place, at his pleasure, and to set them against the most valiant of the enemy's troops\*. But Aristides showed them, that they were very much mistaken. *It is but a few days, said he, since you had a dispute with the Tegeatæ for the command of the left wing, and having gained that point, you looked upon it as a great honour; and now when the Spartans are willing to give you the command of the right wing, which is in a manner the command of the whole army, you are displeased at this further honour, and insensible of the advantage of not being obliged to fight against your own countrymen and relations, but only against barbarians, and such as are by nature your enemies.* These words had such an effect, that the Athenians immediately agreed with pleasure, to change posts with the Spartans; and nothing was heard among them but exhortations to one another, to act like brave men. *The enemy, said they, bring with them neither better arms nor more courageous hearts than they had at Marathon; they have the same bows, the same embroidered*

\* Herodotus says the quite contrary; for all the Athenian officers were so far from taking it amiss, that they said, they had had the same thought themselves, but did not think it proper to propose it, for fear of disobliging the Spartans. ix. 45.



*habits, the same ornaments of gold, and the same soft and effeminate bodies, as well as the same weak and cowardly souls. As for us, we have still the same weapons and the same bodies, but we have likewise a boldness and assurance heightened by our victories; nor do we, like them, fight only for a tract of land, or a single city, but for the trophies of Salamin and Marathon, that they may not appear to have been the work of Miltiades or Fortune, but of the people of Athens.*

While they were thus encouraging each other, they marched cheerfully to change posts with the Spartans. But the Thebans being advertised of it by deserters, sent forthwith to acquaint Mardonius, who, without delay, either for fear of the Athenians, or out of a desire to engage the Spartans, changed the order of his battle, placing the Persians in his right wing, and the Greeks that were of his party, in the left, opposite to the Athenians. When this change was made known to Pausanias, he likewise changed again, he himself returning to the right wing; Mardonius likewise did the same, posting himself in his left, that he might be overagainst the Spartans; thus the day passed without any action at all. In the evening, it was resolved in a council of war to decamp, and take possession of some place that was more commodious for water, because the springs near their present camp were disturbed and spoiled by the enemy's horse\*.

When the night was come, and the officers began to march at the head of their troops towards the place that had been marked out for a new camp†, the foldiers seemed to follow unwillingly, and could not, without great difficulty, be kept to-

\* They had only the fountain of Gargaphia to serve the whole army; for they durst not go to the river Asopus, which was hard by, for fear of the enemy's horse. This fountain having been spoiled and choaked up by the barbarians, they were obliged to remove their camp. *Herodot. ix. 48.*

† They had a mind to remove into a little island, which was ten furlongs from Asopus, and the fountain of Gargaphia. *ix. 50.*

gether in a body; for as soon as they were got out of their first entrenchments, and at liberty, the greatest part made towards the city of Platææ, and some ran one way, and some another, pitching their tents where-ever they pleased themselves, without any order or discipline, which occasioned a very great confusion. It happened that the Lacedæmonians \* were left alone behind, though against their will; for Amompharetus, who commanded them, a daring, intrepid man, who for a long time had been very desirous of coming to a battle, and grew impatient at their tedious lingerings and delays, openly called this decampment a disgraceful flight, and protested, *he would not desert his post, but remain there with his troops, to receive and sustain the whole force of the enemy.* And when Pausanias came and represented to him, that he ought to submit to what had been resolved on by the Greeks in council, he took up a large stone with both his hands, and throwing it at Pausanias's feet, said, *There is my ballot for a battle; and I despise all the mean and cowardly resolutions of others.* Pausanias was at a loss what to do, but resolved at last to send to the Athenians that were before, to halt a little, that they might all proceed in a body; and at the same time he marched with the rest of the army toward Platææ, hoping that Amompharetus might by that means be induced to quit his post, and join him †.

By this time the day began to appear, and Mar-donius, who was advertised of the Grecians decampment, having formed his army, marched against the Lacedæmonians; and such were the shouts and cries of the Barbarians, that one would

\* They were not all the Lacedæmonians, but only a part of them that were commanded by Amompharetus, all the rest having marched. *Herod. ix. 54. 55.*

† And this happened as he thought. Amompharetus left his post at last, and joined the rest of the army when it was at the distance of ten stadia, in a place called *Argiopus*, where stood the temple of the Eleusinian Ceres. *Herod. ix. 55.*

have imagined, they were going not to join battle with the Greeks, but to plunder and destroy them in their flight. And indeed this almost happened: for though Pausanias when he perceived this motion of Mardonius, stopped, and ordered every one to his post; yet either out of resentment against Amompharetus, or surprise at the sudden attack of the Persians, he forgot to give his troops the word; for which reason they did not all engage readily, nor at the same time in a body, but continued irregularly scattered in small parties, even after the fight was begun.

Pausanias in the mean time offered sacrifice, but receiving no propitious omens, he commanded the Lacedæmonians to lay their shields at their feet, and to remain quiet, and attend his orders without opposing the enemy. After this, he offered another sacrifice, the enemies horse still advancing. They were now come within reach, and some of the Spartans were wounded, among whom was Callicrates, the tallest and most comely person in all the army. This brave officer being wounded with an arrow, and ready to expire, said, *That he did not lament his death, because he came from home with a design to sacrifice his life for the safety of Greece; but that he was sorry to die without having once drawn his sword against the enemy.*

If this situation of the Spartan army was dreadful, the steadiness and bravery of the men was worthy of the highest admiration; for they made no defence against the enemy that charged them, but expecting the signal from the gods and their general, patiently suffered themselves to be wounded and slain in their ranks.

Some authors write, that as Pausanias was praying and sacrificing at a little distance from the army, some Lydians came upon him by surprise, and either carried off, or threw down the sacrifice from the altar; and that Pausanias, and those that were with



with him, having no weapons, drove them away with staves and whips: and that, to perpetuate the memory of this action, they celebrate to this day a feast at Sparta, where they whip children round an altar, and conclude with a march called the *Lydian march*, in imitation of this incursion and flight of the Lydians \*.

Pausanias being exceedingly troubled, and seeing the priest offer one sacrifice after another, without obtaining any favourable omen, turned on a sudden, with his eyes full of tears, towards Juno's temple, and lifting up his hands to heaven, addressed himself to that goddess, the patroness of Citheron, and to the other tutelary deities of the Platæans, beseeching them, *That if the fates had not decreed that the Grecians should prove victorious, they might at least be permitted to sell their lives dearly, and not perish without first showing their enemies by their actions, that they had to do with men of experience and bravery.* As soon as he had finished this prayer, the sacrifices appeared propitious, and the diviners promised him the victory. Orders were immediately given to march against the enemy; and in an instant the Spartan battalion seemed like the single body of some fierce animal, erecting his bristles, and preparing for combat. The Barbarians plainly saw they were to encounter with men resolved to fight to the last drop of blood; wherefore covering themselves with their targets, they shot their arrows amongst the Lacedæmonians, who moving in a close compact body, fell on them, and forced their targets out of their hands; at the same time they directed their blows at the breasts and faces of the Persians, and overthrew them; however, when they were down, they continued to give

\* See a different account of the origin of this ceremony in the notes on the life of Lycurgus, vol. 1. p. 193. But the circumstance of the Lydian march is nowhere mentioned but in this passage of Plutarch.

proofs of their great strength and courage; for taking hold of the Lacedæmonian spears with their naked hands, they brake many of them; and then rising, and betaking themselves to their swords and battle-axes, pressing them close, wresting away their shields, and grappling with them, they made a long and obstinate resistance.

The Athenians all this while stood still in expectation of the Lacedæmonians; but hearing the noise of the battle, and being informed by an officer dispatched to them by Pausanias, that the engagement was actually begun, they marched without delay to their assistance; and as they crossed the plain towards the place where the noise was heard, the Greeks, who had sided with the enemy, met them. As soon as Aristides saw them, he advanced a considerable space before the army, and calling out to them, conjured them by all the gods of Greece, *to give over this impious war, and not oppose the Athenians, who were going to the assistance of those who were hazarding their lives for the safety of Greece*; but perceiving that they paid no regard to what he said, but came on to engage him, he quitted his design of going to assist the Lacedæmonians, and fell upon these Greeks, who were about fifty thousand in number\*. But the greatest part of them soon gave way, and made a swift retreat, especially when they heard that the Barbarians were defeated. This engagement was hottest against the Thebans. The most considerable and powerful men among them at that time siding with the Medes, had, by virtue of their authority, brought out their troops against their inclinations.

The battle being thus divided into two parts, the Lacedæmonians first broke and routed the Persians, Mardonius himself being slain by one Ari-

\* This number seems much too great, and is probably erroneous.

Armineus\* a Spartan, by a blow on his head with a stone, as the oracle of Amphiaraus had foretold: for Mardonius had sent a Lydian to consult this oracle; and at the same time he likewise sent a Carian to the cave of Trophonius†. The priest of Trophonius answered the Carian in his own language. As for the Lydian, he lay all night in the temple of Amphiaraus‡, as was customary, and dreamed that one of the priests belonging to the god came to him, and commanded him to go out of the temple, and upon his refusal, threw a great stone at his head, so that he thought himself killed with the blow. This is the account given of that transaction.

The Barbarians being put to flight, were pursued by the Lacedæmonians into their camp, which they had encompassed and fortified with wood; and in a little time after, the Athenians routed the Thebans, killing three hundred of the most considerable persons among them upon the spot. Just as they began to give way, news was brought that the Barbarians were shut up and besieged in their wooden fortification by the Lacedæmonians; whereupon the Athenians giving the Greeks an

\* In some copies he is called *Diamnestus*. Armineus was the name of the general of the Plataeans, p. 433.

† This cave of Trophonius was near the city of Lebadia in Bœotia, above Delphi. Pausanias, who consulted this oracle, and went himself into the cave, largely describes the ceremony and manner of this consultation, which is very curious, and may be seen in his *Bœotica*. The person that Mardonius sent thither, did not only consult this oracle, but almost all the other oracles in the country; he addressed himself to that of Abes, that of Apollo Ismenius at Thebes, and to that of Apollo in the city of Ptous; so restless and uneasy was Mardonius about the present state of his affairs, and so desirous of knowing the event of them. This happened before he sent Alexander to Athens. See Herod. iii. 134. 135.

‡ As Amphiaraus had in his lifetime been a great expounder of dreams, so after his death he gave his oracles only by dreams, which he sent to those that consulted him, and who, in order to it, were obliged to lie all night in his temple, upon the skin of a ram, which they had before sacrificed to him.



opportunity to escape, marched to reinforce the Lacedæmonians, who made but a slow progress in their attack, being very little skilled in sieges. But when they arrived, they stormed the camp \*, and made a prodigious slaughter of the enemy; for of three hundred thousand men, only forty thousand escaped with Artabafus †; and on the Grecian side no more were slain than one thousand three hundred and sixty. The Athenians lost only fifty-two men, all of the tribe of Aiantis, which, as Clisthenes the historian informs us, distinguished itself particularly on that occasion; for which reason that tribe offered a yearly sacrifice for this victory, to the nymphs Sphragitides, at the public charge, as the oracle of Apollo had commanded. The Lacedæmonians had ninety-one, and the Tegeatæ only sixteen slain in this battle: and therefore I am very much surpris'd that Herodotus should write, that they only, and none other, engaged the barbarians ‡; since the numbers of the slain, and their monuments, plainly show that this victory was obtained by the united power of all Greece. Had those three states only fought the enemy, and all the rest stood neuter, they would never have

\* The Tegeatæ were the first that enter'd, and among many things of great value, they took Mardonius's tent, and the brazen manger in which his horses were fed, which was of very curious workmanship.

† Herodotus says that besides the forty thousand that were already fled with Artabafus, of the whole three hundred thousand men, that compos'd the Persian army, not three thousand more escap'd.

‡ It may be thought strange that a modern should assert that Plutarch misunderstood Herodotus; yet he plainly appears to have mistaken his meaning in the passage here referred to. Herodotus says, lib. ix. 70. "Though all the Greeks fought bravely, and especially the Tegeatæ and the Athenians, yet the Lacedæmonians distinguished themselves above all others; of which I cannot give a better proof, than by saying that their forces were every where victorious; and that the Lacedæmonians were engaged with the best troops in the enemy's army." Those words of Herodotus, ἀλλῶ μὲν ἔδει ἔχω ἀπόδειξιν αὐτοῖς, here translated, of which I cannot give a better proof, seem to have been understood by Plutarch in another sense; as if the meaning was, I cannot bear witness for any other of the Greeks.

engraved

engraved this inscription on an altar erected in memory of this battle ;

*The Greeks, now victors o'er the Persian bands,  
This fair memorial rais'd with grateful hands,  
Sacred to Jove the father of the free ;  
The gift, the proof, the pledge of liberty.*

This battle was fought on the fourth day of Boëdromion \* [September], according to the Athenian way of reckoning ; but according to the Bœotian computation, on the twenty-fourth of the month called *Panemus* ; on which day there is still held a general assembly of the Greeks in the city of Plataeæ, and a sacrifice is offered to Jupiter the Deliverer, for this victory. As to the irregularity and difference of days in the Grecian months, that is not to be wondered at ; since even now, notwithstanding the science of astronomy has been so much cultivated and improved, the months begin and end very differently in different places.

This victory had like to have proved fatal to Greece : for the Athenians refusing to yield the honour of the day to the Spartans, or to allow them to erect a trophy, they were upon the point of deciding the difference by arms, and would have proceeded to extremities, had not Aristides interposed, and by his arguments and entreaties appeased the other commanders, and particularly Leocrates and Myronides, persuading them to refer the decision of the matter to the Grecians. When they were assembled, Theogiton the Magarensian gave his opinion, *That the honour contended for, was not to be adjudged either to Athens or Sparta, unless they had a mind to kindle the flames of a civil war.* After him, Cleocritus the Corinthian rising to speak, it was imagined he would demand this honour for his

\* Plutarch in the life of Camillus, vol. i. p. 418. says, that this battle was fought on the third day of the month Boëdromion.

own country; for, next to Athens and Sparta, Corinth was the most considerable city of Greece; but they were agreeably surpris'd, when they found that his discourse turned wholly in commendation of the Plataëans, and when he propos'd, *That to extinguish this dangerous contention, they should give the reward and glory of the victory to them only, at which neither of the contending parties would be displeas'd.* Wereupon Aristides first agreed to the proposal, in the name of the Athenians, and afterwards Pausanias on the part of the Lacedæmonians.

Being all thus reconcil'd, they set apart eighty talents for the Plataëans, with which they built a temple, and erected a statue to Minerva, adorning the temple, with curious pictures, which even still retain their original beauty and lustre. Both the Athenians and Lacedæmonians erected trophies separately. When they sent to consult the oracle at Delphi, about offering a sacrifice, the god answer'd, *That they should erect an altar to Jupiter the Deliverer, but forbear to offer any sacrifice on it, till they had extinguish'd all the fire in the country, because it had been polluted and profan'd by the Barbarians; and that they should afterwards fetch pure fire from the common altar at Delphi.* As soon as the Greeks were inform'd of this oracle, the generals went all over the country, and caus'd the fires to be put out; and Euchidas a Plataean undertaking to fetch fire from the altar of Apollo with all speed, went to Delphi, where having sprinkled and purified himself with water, he put a crown of laurel on his head, and taking fire from the altar, hasten'd back to Plataëæ, where he arriv'd before sun set, performing that day a journey of a thousand furlongs: but having saluted his fellow-citizens, and deliver'd the fire to them, he immediately fell down, and soon after expired. The Plataëans carried him away, and buried him in the temple of Diana;



Diana, furnamed *Eucleia*, and put this inscription on his tomb,

*Here lies Euehidas, who went to Delphi, and returned in the same day.*

Most are of opinion, that *Eucleia* is *Diana*, and call her by that name; but others maintain, that she was the daughter of *Hercules* and *Myrto* the daughter of *Menoetius*, and sister of *Patroclus*; and that dying a virgin she was highly honoured by the *Bœotians* and *Locrians*. For in the market-places of all their cities, she has altars erected, where persons of both sexes that are betrothed, offer sacrifice before their marriage.

At the first general assembly of the Greeks, after this victory, *Aristides* proposed a decree, *That a council consisting of deputies from all the cities of Greece, should be held annually at Plataeæ, and that every fifth year they should celebrate games of liberty: that a general levy should be made over all Greece for the war against the Barbarians, of ten thousand foot, a thousand horse, and an hundred sail of ships: that the Plataeans should be looked upon as exempt, and sacred to the service of the gods, and be only employed in offering sacrifices for the welfare of Greece.*

This decree being passed, the *Plataeans* undertook to perform an annual sacrifice in honour of those that were slain in that place; and they still continue to perform it after this manner. On the sixteenth day of *Maimacterion* [*November*], which with the *Bœotians* is the month *Alalcomenius*, they have a procession which they begin by break of day; it is opened by a trumpet sounding the signal of battle; then follow several chariots full of garlands and branches of myrtle, and next to the chariots a black bull; then come some young men that are free born, carrying the usual libations, vessels full of wine and milk, and cruets of oil and ointments; for no slave is allowed to be present at a solemnity

which is performed in honour of such as died in the cause of liberty. And last of all, follows the Archon, or chief magistrate of Plataeæ, who at all other times is obliged not so much as to touch iron, or wear any garment but white; but, that day, he is clothed in a purple robe, and girt with a sword; and carrying in his hands a water-pot taken out of the city-hall, he walks through the midst of the city to the burying-place. Then taking water in his pot out of a fountain, he himself washes the little pillars of the monuments \*, and rubs them with sweet ointments, after which he kills the bull, upon a pile of wood. And lastly having made his supplication to the terrestrial Jupiter and Mercury †, he invites those brave men who died in the defence of Greece to this funeral banquet and oblation; then filling a bowl with wine, and pouring it out, he says, *I present this bowl to those men who died for the liberty of Greece.* This is the manner of that funeral solemnity, which the Plataeans observe to this day.

When the Athenians were returned home, Aristides perceiving that they endeavoured every way to get the government into their hands, and to establish a democracy; and considering, on one hand, that they deserved a more than ordinary regard on account of their late gallant behaviour, and on the other, that it was a difficult task to curb and restrain those who had their weapons still in their hands, and were highly elated by their victories, he proposed a decree, that every citizen should have an equal right to the government, and that the Archon should be chosen out of the whole body of people, without any preference or distinction.

Themistocles declaring one day, at a public assembly of the people, that he had formed a design

For it was customary to place little pillars upon the monuments.

† The terrestrial Jupiter is Pluto; and Mercury was so called from his employment of conducting the shades into the lower regions.

which

which would be of great advantage to the state, but that it was of such importance that it ought to be kept secret, he was ordered to communicate it to Aristides, to whose sole judgment it was referred. And when Themistocles had informed him that his project was to burn the whole Grecian navy, by which means the Athenians would become so powerful, as to be the sovereigns of all Greece, Aristides returning to the assembly, told the Athenians, *That nothing could be more advantageous than the design Themistocles had communicated to him, and that nothing could be more unjust.* Upon which report the Athenians ordered Themistocles to desist; such was their love of justice, and such the esteem and confidence which Aristides had obtained among them.

Some time after this, being joined in commission with Cimon, he was sent against the Barbarians; where observing that Pausanias and the other Spartan commanders behaved with excessive haughtiness towards all the allies, he chose a quite different manner, conversing freely with them, and treating them with the greatest mildness and condescension; and Cimon, in imitation of his example, became so affable and courteous, that he was universally beloved. By this means he insensibly stole away the sovereign command from the Lacedæmonians, not by force of arms, horses, or ships, but by his kind and obliging behaviour. Aristides's justice, and Cimon's candour had already very much endeared the Athenians to all the confederates; but the avarice and cruelty of Pausanias rendered them still more amiable. For he always spoke to the officers with sternness and severity; and as for the common soldiers, they were either whipt, or obliged to stand a whole day with an iron anchor on their shoulders, for the least offences. Neither durst they provide forage for their horses, straw for themselves to lie on, or so much as touch a spring of water till the Spartans were all served;  
his



his servants being constantly posted there with whips to drive away such as offered to approach. And when Aristides attempted one day to expostulate with him on his behaviour, he told him with a fierce and angry look, *that he was not at leisure*, and refused to hear him.

From that time the sea-captains and land-officers, and particularly those of Chios, Samos, and Lesbos, pressed Aristides to accept of the general command of all the confederate forces, and receive them into his protection, they having long desired to be delivered from the Spartan yoke, and to submit only to the Athenians. Aristides answered, *That he saw a great deal of force and reason in what they said; but that it was necessary to perform some action that might manifest the sincerity of their intentions, and at the same time fix the troops beyond a possibility of changing.* Upon this answer, Uliades of Samos and Antagoras of Chios conspiring together, went boldly and attacked Pausanias's galley at the head of the whole fleet near Byzantium. When Pausanias perceived their insolence, he rose up in a rage, and threatened to make them soon know that it was not his galley, but their own country they had thus insulted. But they told him, *that the best thing he could do was to retire, and thank fortune for her favours at Platææ; for that nothing but the regard they had for that great action, restrained the Greeks from revenging the ill treatment they had received at his hands.* The conclusion was, that they renounced all manner of submission to the Spartans, and ranged themselves under the Athenian banners.

The wonderful magnanimity of the Spartan people appeared very fully on this occasion; for finding that their generals were grown corrupt through the greatness of their power and authority, they sent no more, but voluntarily laid down the chief command of the confederate forces, chusing rather to see their citizens prudent, modest, and strictly  
 observant

observant of their laws and customs, than to possess the sovereign command of all Greece.

All the time the Lacedæmonians had the command, the Grecians paid a certain tax towards carrying on the war; but being now desirous that every city should be justly and equally rated, they begged Aristides of the Athenians, and intrusted him with the care of examining all the lands and revenues, that so all might pay according their real wealth and ability.

Aristides being invested with this great authority, by which he became in a manner master of all Greece, was far from abusing the trust reposed in him; and if he entered upon it poor, he went out of it poorer; for he levied this tax, not only justly and disinterestedly, but likewise with such tenderness and humanity, as to render it easy and agreeable to all. And as the ancients used to celebrate the reign of Saturn, so did the confederate Greeks this taxation of Aristides, calling it *the happy fortune of Greece*; and this applause was very much heightened soon after, when that taxation was doubled and trebled. For Aristides's assessment amounted to no more than four hundred and sixty talents, but Pericles afterwards increased it almost a third; for Thucydides says, that, at the beginning of the war, the Athenians received six hundred talents from their allies; and after his death they who had the government then in their hands, raised it by little and little till it came to thirteen hundred; not that the war grew more expensive, either by its long continuance, or want of success, but because they accustomed the people to receive distributions of money for the public spectacles and other purposes, and had made them fond of erecting magnificent statues and temples.

Aristides having gained a wonderful reputation by the equity of his taxation, Themistocles, it is said, made a jest of it, and used to say, that the commendation

commendation they gave him on this account, *was not the commendation of a man, but of a money-chest, which safely keeps the money that is put into it without diminution*: wherein he revenged himself but very poorly for a severe expression of Aristides. For Themistocles saying one day, *that he looked upon it as the greatest excellency of a general to know and foresee the designs of an enemy*; Aristides replied, *that it was indeed a necessary qualification, but that there was another equally illustrious and becoming a general, which was to have clean hands, and not to be a slave to money.*

When Aristides had finished the articles of alliance, he made all the people of Greece swear to the observation of each particular; and he himself took the oath in the name of the Athenians, and threw pieces of red-hot iron into the sea, when he had pronounced the curses against such as should violate what they had sworn. But afterwards when the Athenians, through the necessity of their affairs, were forced to be guilty of some breaches of this oath, and to rule more absolutely, he advised them to throw upon him all the curses and guilt of that perjury, which the necessity of their affairs required. Upon the whole, Theophrastus informs us, that in all his own private concerns, and in his behaviour to his fellow-citizens, he was perfectly just; but that in matters of government he frequently submitted to the exigency of affairs, when acts of injustice became necessary; and he relates, that once in council, when there was a debate about bringing some treasure to Athens that had been deposited at Delos, as the Samians had advised, though contrary to a treaty, when he came to speak, he said, *that it was expedient, but not just.*

In fine, though he had raised his city to so high a degree of glory, and established her dominion over so many people, yet he himself continued poor to the day of his death, esteeming his poverty no less a glory than all the laurels he had won, as appear



pears from hence. Callias the torch-bearer, who was his relation, was capitally accused by his enemies; when the day of trial came, they urged the heads of their accusation against him very faintly, but enlarged much on an affair that was foreign to the charge, telling the judges, *You know Aristides the son of Lysimachus, a man who is the admiration of all Greece. How do you think he lives at home, when you see him appear every day in public in a sorry thread-bare coat? Is it not reasonable to imagine, that he who shakes with cold without doors, is ready to starve with hunger, and wants necessaries within? Yet does Callias, the richest man in all Athens, wholly neglect this person, who is his cousin-german, suffering him, with his wife and children, to live in extreme necessity, notwithstanding he has received great services from him, and on several occasions made use of his credit and interest with you.* Callias perceiving that his judges were more affected and exasperated by this reproach, than by all the other crimes of which he had been accused, summoned Aristides to appear and testify in his behalf; that he had not only offered him money several times, but strongly pressed him to accept it, which he had always obstinately refused, making him this answer, *It better becomes Aristides to glory in his poverty, than Callias in his wealth; for many people make a good as well as a bad use of riches, but it is hard to find one that bears poverty well; and they only are ashamed of it who are forced to bear it against their will.* Aristides having given this deposition in Callias's behalf, there was not one person that went out of the assembly, but was more in love with Aristides's poverty than his kinsman's wealth. This is the account left us by Æschines, the disciple of Socrates; and Plato, among all the Athenians that were persons of eminence and distinction, judged none but Aristides worthy of real esteem. As for Themistocles, Cimon, and Pericles, they filled the city with wealth, magnificent buildings, and vain ornaments; but

but virtue was the only object which Aristides had in view during his administration.

He gave manifest proofs of his great candour and moderation, even towards Themistocles himself. For though he had been his constant enemy on all occasions, and the cause of his banishment; yet when a fair opportunity for revenge was offered, upon Themistocles's being accused of capital crimes against his country, he showed no resentment of the injuries he had received, refused to join with Alcmeon, Cimon, and several others in the prosecution, said nothing at all to his disadvantage, nor in the least insulted him in his misfortunes, as he had never envied him in his prosperity.

Some affirm, that Aristides died in Pontus, whither he went upon some affairs relating to the public; others, that he died of old age at Athens, in great honour, esteem, and veneration with his fellow-citizens. But the account given us of his death by Craterus the Macedonian \*, is as follows. After the banishment of Themistocles, the pride and insolence of the populace gave rise to a great number of villanous informers, who attacked the reputation of the best and greatest men in the city, exposing them to the envy of the people, who were at that time highly elated by their success and power. Aristides himself did not escape, but fell under a sentence of condemnation, having been accused by Diophantus of Amphitrope, of taking a bribe from the Ionians at the time of his levying the tax. He adds, that being unable to pay his fine, which was fifty minæ, he set sail from Athens, and died somewhere in Ionia. But Craterus produces no written proof of this, neither the form of the accusation, nor the public decree; though on other occasions he is careful to collect this sort of evidence, and to

\* An historian who lived a little after the time of Aristides. He had made a collection of decrees. Vossius believes him to be the same that accompanied Alexander the Great in his expeditions.

cite his authors. Almost all the other writers that have undertaken to give an account of the people's injustice towards their governors and generals, make particular mention of Themistocles's banishment, Miltiades's imprisonment, Pericles's fine, and Paches's death, who, upon receiving sentence, killed himself in the judgment-hall, before the tribunal; and several other instances of the like nature they relate; they also mention the banishment of Aristides by the ostracism, but none of them, any where, speak one word of this condemnation. Besides, his monument is still to be seen at Phalerum, and was erected at the charge of the city, he not having left enough behind him to defray his funeral expenses. It is likewise said, that the city provided for the marriage of his daughters, and that each of them received three thousand drachmas for her portion out of the public treasury. The people likewise bestowed on his son Lyfimachus an hundred minæ of silver, and a plantation of as many acres of land, besides a pension of four drachmas a-day, confirmed to him by a decree which was drawn up by Alcibiades. Callisthenes writes further, that Lyfimachus dying and leaving a daughter whose name was *Polycrite*, the people assigned her the same allowance with those that conquered at the Olympic games. Demetrius the Phalerean, Hieronymus the Rhodian, Aristoxenus the musician, and Aristotle himself, in the treatise concerning nobility, that is found among his works, be really his, affirm that Myrto, Aristides's granddaughter, was married to Socrates the philosopher, who had another wife at the same time, but took her, because she was in extreme want, and remained a widow on account of her poverty. But this is sufficiently confuted by Panætius, in his life of Socrates.

The same Demetrius, in his account of Socrates, writes, that he remembers to have seen one



Lyfimachus, grandson to Aristides, who, being very poor, sat constantly near the temple of Bacchus, having certain tables, by which he interpreted dreams for a livelihood; and that he himself procured a decree to be passed, by which his mother and aunt were allowed half a drachma a-day for their subsistence. He writes further, that when he afterwards undertook to reform the Athenian laws, he ordered each of those women a drachma a-day. And it is no wonder that the people of Athens took such great care of the poor that lived in the city with them, when hearing that a grand-daughter of Aristogiton lived in great distress in the isle of Lemnos, and continued unmarried through poverty, they sent for her to Athens, and married her to a man of a considerable family, giving her for a portion an estate in the borough of Potamos. This city, even in our days, continues to give so many proofs of the like humanity and bounty, that it has deservedly gained the applause and admiration of the whole world.

THE

# T H E L I F E O F C A T O T H E C E N S O R.

**I**T is said that Marcus Cato was born at Tusculum, of which place his family was originally ; and that, before he intermeddled with civil or military affairs, he lived at an estate which his father left him near the country of the Sabins. Notwithstanding his ancestors were generally reckoned very obscure persons, yet he boasts of his father Marcus as a man of great virtue and courage, and assures us, that his grandfather Cato received several military rewards, and that having had five horses slain under him in battle, the value of them was paid him out of the public treasury, as an acknowledgment of his bravery. As the Romans always called such persons *new men* \*, who, having received no dignity from their ancestors, were beginning to distinguish themselves by their personal virtues; so they

\* Any man that distinguished himself by his virtue and remarkable actions was reckoned great and illustrious, but he was not *noble*, nor did his posterity derive any particular marks of distinction from him. But he whose ancestors had enjoyed public posts and honourable employments, was *noble*, and made his descendents so. Asconius has very well explained this distinction. *Qui majorum suorum habuerunt imagines*, says he, *ii nobiles*; *qui suas tantum, ii novi*; *qui nec majorum nec suas, ignobiles appellati sunt*. They who could show the statues of their ancestors, were called *nobiles*, noble; they who had only their own, were called *novi*; and they who had neither their ancestors nor their own, were styled *ignobiles*, ignoble. For the privilege of having their statues, the *jus imaginum*, was annexed to certain posts or dignities.

bestowed that appellation upon Cato. But he used to confess that with respect to honours and dignities he was indeed new, but with regard to the great actions and services of his ancestors he was very ancient.

His third name, at first, was not *Cato*, but *Priscus*, though it was afterwards changed to that of *Cato*, on account of his great wisdom; the Romans calling wise men *Catos*. He had red hair and gray eyes, as appears from this epigram made upon him by one of his enemies.

*This churl with eyes so gray and hairs so red,  
Not hell shall willingly admit when dead.*

By temperance and exercise, and a military life, to which he was early accustomed, he acquired a good habit of body with respect to strength as well as health. And as to eloquence, he looked upon it as a second body, and as an instrument not only useful, but necessary for every person that would not live obscure and inactive, and therefore took particular care to cultivate and improve it by pleading in several boroughs and neighbouring villages, undertaking the defence of all that applied to him; so that he was soon reckoned an able pleader, and afterwards gained the reputation of a good orator.

From this time forward all that conversed much with him discovered such a gravity of behaviour, such a greatness of mind, and such a superiority of genius as were fit for the management of the greatest affairs, even in the sovereign city of the world. He not only showed his disinterestedness and contempt of money by refusing to take any fees for pleading, but it further appeared that the honour arising from such contests was not that kind of glory he aimed at; his chief ambition being to distinguish himself against an enemy in the field. While he was but a youth, his breast was full of scars from the



the wounds he had received in battle ; for he says himself that he was but seventeen years old when he made his first campaign, at the time when Hannibal was so successful in ravaging and destroying Italy. In battle he always stood firm, struck with great force, looked on his enemy with a fierce countenance, and spoke to him in threatening language and with a stern accent ; for he rightly judged and endeavoured to convince others, that such a behaviour often strikes more terror into an adversary than the sword itself. He always marched on foot, and carried his own arms, followed only by one servant who carried his provisions. And it is said, he never was angry with that servant, whatever he provided him to eat, but would often, when he was at leisure from military duty, ease and assist him in dressing it. All the time he continued in the army he drank nothing but water, unless that sometimes, when he was extremely thirsty, he would ask for a little vinegar, or, when he found himself fatigued and dispirited, he would take a little wine.

Near his country-seat was a little farm-house that formerly belonged to Manius Curius \*, who had been thrice honoured with a triumph. Cato often walked thither, and reflecting on the smallness of the farm, and poorness of the dwelling, used to think with himself, what kind of person he must be, who, though he was the greatest man in Rome, had conquered the most warlike nations, and expelled Pyrrhus out of Italy, cultivated this little spot of ground himself, and, after so many triumphs, dwelt in so mean a cottage. There it was, that the ambassadors of the Samnites found him dressing tur-

\* Manius Curius Dentatus triumphed twice in his first consulate, in the four hundred and sixty-third year of Rome, first over the Samnites, and afterwards over the Sabins. And eight years after that, in his third consulate, he triumphed over Pyrrhus. After this he triumphed again over the Lucanians ; but this was only the lesser triumph, called *ovation*.

nips in the chimney-corner, and having offered him a large present of gold, received this answer from him; *That he who could be content with such a supper, wanted no gold, and that he thought it more glorious to conquer the owners of it, than to possess the gold itself.* Full of these thoughts Cato returned home, and taking a review of his house, estate, servants, and charge of house-keeping, increased his daily labour, and retrenched all unnecessary expenses.

When Fabius Maximus took the city of Tarentum, Cato, who was then very young, served under him. Happening at that time to lodge with one Nearchus a Pythagorean, he desired to hear some of his philosophy; and finding his reflections the same with Plato's, *That pleasure is the greatest allure-ment to evil; that the greatest burden and calamity of the soul is the body, from which it cannot disengage itself, but by such thoughts and reasonings as wean and separate it from all corporeal passions and affections,* he was so much charmed with his discourse, that he grew more in love with frugality and temperance. It is said, however, that he learned Greek very late, and that he was considerably advanced in years when he began to read the Grecian writers, among whom he received some advantage from Thucydides, but much more from Demosthenes, towards forming his style, and improving his eloquence. And indeed we find his writings considerably adorned and enriched with maxims and histories borrowed from Greek originals; and among his apophthegms and moral sentences, there are many things literally translated from them.

There lived at that time a certain Roman nobleman of great power and eminence called *Valerius Flaccus*, whose sagacity and penetration enabled him to discern a virtuous disposition from early indications, and whose goodness and generosity inclined him to cherish and advance it. This person having an estate adjoining to Cato's, often heard his  
servants

fervants speak of his neighbour's laborious and temperate manner of life, and was told that he would go early in the morning to the neighbouring villages, to plead and defend the causes of such as applied to him; that from thence he would return into his field, where with a sorry jacket over his shoulders, if it was winter, or naked, if it was summer, he would labour with his domestics, and, when their work was over, would sit down with them at the same table, eat of the same bread, and drink of the same wine. They related likewise several other proofs of his condescension and moderation, repeating many of his sayings, which were full of wit and good sense. Valerius pleased with these accounts sent to invite him to dinner; and from that time, by frequent conversation, discovered in him so much sweetness of temper, probity, politeness, and wit, that he seemed to him like an excellent plant, that deserved to be better cultivated, and to be removed to a better soil; he therefore persuaded him to go to Rome, and apply himself to affairs of state.

He had not been long there before his pleading gained him friends and admirers; and Valerius's great respect for him, and endeavours to advance him, adding to his general esteem, he was first made a military tribune, and afterwards quæstor. And having gained great reputation and honour in those posts, he was joined with Valerius himself in the highest dignities, being fellow-consul with him, and afterwards censor.

Among all the ancient senators, he attached himself chiefly to Fabius Maximus, not so much on account of his great power and authority, as because he esteemed and admired him most, and looked upon his character and manner of life as the best model by which to form his own. So that he made no scruple of differing with the great Scipio, who, though he was at that time very young, was the person



person that most opposed and envied the power of Fabius. For being sent quæstor with Scipio in the African war, and finding the general live according to his usual manner, at a very great expense, and give his troops money without the least œconomy, he spoke freely to him, and told him, *That the greatness of the expense itself was not the greatest damage to the public; but that it was an irreparable injury to corrupt the ancient simplicity of the soldiery, and accustom them to luxury and riot, by giving them more pay than was necessary for their subsistence.* To this Scipio replied, *That there was no occasion for so exact a treasurer in a war that would be carried on with such vigour and expedition; that he was indeed obliged to give the people an account of the actions he performed, but not of the money he spent.* Upon this answer, Cato left Sicily, and returned to Rome, where, together with Fabius, he loudly exclaimed in the senate against Scipio's vast and needless expenses, saying, *That he trifled away his time in theatres and places of exercise, as if he had not been sent to make war, but exhibit public games and diversions;* in consequence of this, tribunes were sent to examine the matter, with orders, if the accusation proved true, to bring Scipio back to Rome.

When the tribunes were arrived in the army, Scipio represented to them, *That the success of that war depended entirely on the great expense and preparations that had been made for it; that when he was at leisure, he had indeed cheerfully lived with his friends, but that his liberality had not hindered him from observing an exact discipline, nor had his amusements made him remiss in serious and important affairs.* With this answer the tribunes were satisfied, and Scipio set sail for Africa.

But to return to Cato: The power and reputation he gained by his eloquence increased daily; so that he was generally styled the *Roman Demosthenes*; but what was still more admired and celebrated, was his manner

manner of life. In eloquence he had many rivals; all the youth of Rome aspiring after the glory of speaking well, and endeavouring to excel each other; but it was very rare to meet with persons like him, that would copy the example of their forefathers by enduring bodily labour, that would be content with a dinner cooked without fire, and a spare frugal supper at night; that would be satisfied with a plain dress and a poor cottage, and account it more reputable not to want superfluities than to possess them. The state was now no longer able to preserve the purity and severity of its ancient discipline by reason of its vast extent; the many different affairs under its management, and the infinite number of people that submitted to its government, introduced a variety of new customs and modes of living. Justly therefore was Cato admired, who alone, when all the other citizens were frightened at labour, and softened by pleasure, remained unconquered by either, not only in his youth, and when his ambition was at the height, but when he was old and gray-haired, after his consulship and triumph; like a brave wrestler, who, after he has come off conqueror, observes his common rules, and continues his usual exercises to the very last.

He writes himself, that he never wore a garment that cost more than an hundred drachmas; that even when he was prætor, or consul, he drank the same wine with his servants; and that the provisions for his table at dinner never cost above thirty asses; and that this was done out of love to his country, that his body being made strong and robust, by a plain spare diet, might be rendered more able to sustain the fatigues of war. He adds, that having a piece of fine Babylonian tapestry left him by a friend, he sold it immediately; that in all his country-houses, he had not a wall plastered or white-washed; that he never gave above fifteen hundred drachmas for a slave, always refusing such as were handsome and

and delicate, and chusing those that were strong and fit for labour, to drive his cattle, or take care of his horses; and these slaves he thought he ought to sell again when they were grown old, that he might not maintain useless creatures \*. In a word, he thought nothing was cheap that was superfluous, but that every thing was dear, even at the smallest price, if needless; and he preferred arable land and pasture to gardens or walks that require much watering or sweeping.

Some impute these things to sordid avarice; but others maintain, that he confined himself within narrower bounds, on purpose to correct by his example the extravagance and luxury of his fellow-citizens. But for my part, I look upon it as a sign of a mean and ungenerous disposition, to use servants like beasts of burden, and to turn them off, or to sell them in their old age; as if there were no communication to be maintained between man and man, any further than necessity or interest required. Nay good-nature and humanity have even a larger extent than mere justice; for the obligations of law and equity reach only to mankind, but we may extend our kindness and beneficence to irrational creatures; and such actions will flow from a good and generous nature, as water from an exuberant fountain. It is agreeable to a humane good-natured man, to take care of his horses and dogs, not only whilst they are young and useful, but even when they are grown old and past their labour. Thus the Athenians, after they had finished the temple called *Hecatompodon*, set at liberty the beasts of burden that had been chiefly employed on that occasion, suffering them to feed at large in the pastures, free from any further service; and it is said that when one of these came afterwards of its own accord, to of-

\* This Cato says in express words; he will have the master of a family sell every thing that is old and useless.



fer its service, by putting itself at the head of the teams that drew the carriages to the citadel, and went all the way before them, as it were to incite and encourage them to undergo their labour, a decree was made that it should be kept at the public charge till it died. The graves of Cimon's mares with which he thrice conquered at the Olympic games are still to be seen near his own monument. Many others have taken care to bury their dogs when dead, which they had fed and been fond of when alive. Xanthippus the father of Pericles being embarked with the rest of the Athenians, when they were obliged to abandon their city, his dog swam by the side of his ship to Salamin, and was afterwards buried by him in that place which is still called the *dog's grave*. For we ought not to use living creatures as we do shoes or household goods, which we throw away when they are worn out with use; and were it only to learn benevolence to mankind, we should habituate ourselves to tenderness and compassion in these lower instances. For my own part, I would never sell an ox grown old in my service; much less could I ever resolve to part with an old servant for a little money, and expel him as it were from his country, by turning him out of my house, and forcing him from his usual place of abode, and manner of living; especially considering that he would be as useless to the person that bought him, as he was to me that sold him. Cato, however, seems to boast of his having left behind him in Spain the horse that he rode when he commanded there, that he might not put the public to the charge of carrying him from thence to Italy. But whether such things as these are to be ascribed to a greatness or meanness of soul, is left to the reader's judgment to decide.

The temperance of Cato, however, was truly admirable. All the time he commanded the army, he never demanded of the public above three Attic medimni

medimni of wheat a-month for himself and his whole family, and less than a medimnus and a half of barley a-day for his horses. When he was governor of Sardinia, though his predecessors used to put the public to a great expense for tents, bedding, and cloaths, and still more by a numerous retinue of friends and domestics, besides plays, entertainments, and the like; he, on the contrary, was remarkable for an incredible plainness and frugality. For he never put the public to any expense; and when he visited the cities under his government, he went on foot without a chariot, attended only by one public officer, who carried his garment and a vessel for sacrificing. But in such things as these he appeared easy, plain, and agreeable to all that were under his command, he, on the other hand, made them feel his gravity and severity in every thing else: for he was inexorable in whatever related to public justice, and inflexibly rigid in the execution of all his orders: so that the Roman government had never till then appeared to that people either so terrible, or so amiable.

The same character that appeared in his conduct and behaviour, was likewise to be found in his style, which was elegant, facetious, and familiar, and at the same time grave, nervous, and sententious. And as Plato says of Socrates, *That he appeared to strangers, an ignorant, rude buffoon, but that he was full of virtue within, and spoke such pathetic and divine things as would move the very soul, and force tears from the hearers eyes*\*; the same may be said of Cato: so that I cannot comprehend their meaning, who have compared his style to that of Lysias: however we shall leave this to be determined by such, to whom it more properly belongs to judge of the several kinds of Roman styles. For my own part, being persuaded that the dispositions and manners of men

\* This passage is taken from the Symposium of Plato.

may better be discovered by their words than their looks, (though some are of a different opinion), I shall here write down some of his most remarkable sayings.

One day when the people clamoured violently and unseasonably for a distribution of corn, to dissuade them from it, he began to harangue them thus: *It is a difficult task, my fellow-citizens, to speak to the belly which has no ears.* Another time reproving the excessive luxury of the Romans, he said, *It was hard to save a city where a fish was sold for more than an ox.* On another occasion he said, *The Roman people were like sheep; for as a single sheep will not obey the shepherd alone, but does all for company, constantly following the flock; just so is it with you Romans; those counsellors whose advice you would scorn to follow, when alone, lead you as they please, when you are collected together.* Speaking of the authority that wives assumed over their husbands, he said, *All men usually govern the women, we govern all men, and our wives govern us.* But this saying might have been taken from the apophthegms of Themistocles, whose son governing him in many things through his mother, he said to her, *Wife, the Athenians govern all the Greeks, I govern the Athenians, thou governeest me, and thy son governs thee; let him therefore use his power more sparingly, which, as silly as he is, makes him master of all Greece.* Another time Cato said, that the people of Rome put a price not only upon several kinds of colours, but likewise upon studies and arts; for, added he, as dyers dye such purples as please best, and are most esteemed, so our youth only study and search after such things as you approve and commend. Exhorting them once to virtue, he said, *If ye are become great by virtue and temperance, do not change for the worst; but if it be by intemperance and vice, change for the better, for ye are that way great enough already.* Concerning such persons as often made interest for places, he used to say, that they were people, who, not knowing their way, for fear of losing it sought for lictors to go before and



conduct them. He reprov'd his fellow-citizens for often chusing the same persons to the highest posts and dignities: *You*, said he, *either put no great value on your posts of honour, or else you cannot find many persons worthy to fill them.* Concerning one of his enemies who led a very profligate and infamous life, he said, *his mother takes it for a curse and not a prayer, when any one wishes this son may survive her.* One day pointing at a man who had sold an estate left him by his father near the sea-side, he pretended to admire at the man as one stronger than the sea itself; for, said he, *what the sea could not wash away without great difficulty, he has swallowed at once without any pains at all.* When King Eumenes came to Rome, the senate received him with all imaginable honour, and all the principal men among the Romans strove to outdo one another in making their court to him; but it plainly appeared that Cato slighted and shunned him; whereupon one said to him, *Why do you thus shun Eumenes, who is so good a king, and so great a friend to the Romans?* He may be a good king, replied he, *but I know very well that the animal called a king, is a man-eater; nor is there one among the most renowned of them all that can be compared to Epaminondas, Pericles, Themistocles, Manius Curius, or even to Amilcar surnamed Barcas.* He often said, *that his enemies hated him because he rose before day, not to take care of his own affairs, but those of the commonwealth.* He said, *that he had rather do well, and not be rewarded, than do ill, and not be punished; and that he could pardon other mens faults, but never forgive his own.* The Romans having named three ambassadors to go to the king of Bithynia, one of whom had the gout, another had had his scull trepanned, and the third was reckoned a fool, Cato ridiculing this choice, said, *That Rome had sent an embassy that had neither feet, head, nor heart.* He was solicited by Scipio, at the request of Polybius, to favour the cause of those that were banished out of Achaëa;

cháa \*; when the matter came before the senate, there were great debates, some declaring for the return of the exiles, while others opposed it; but Cato rising up, said, *We trifle away a whole day here, as if we had nothing else to do but to debate whether a parcel of old Greeks shall be interred by our grave-diggers, or by those of their own country.* The senate having decreed that the exiles should return home, Polybius some days after begged leave to appear before the senate, in order to present a petition in behalf of those exiles, that they might be restored to the honours they enjoyed before their banishment; but before he took this step, he went to Cato to know his opinion of the matter, and told him his design; at which Cato smiled, and said, *That this was just as if Ulysses should have wished to return to the cave of the Cyclops for a hat and belt which he had left behind.* He sometimes said, that wise men learn more from fools, than fools from wise men; because wise men shun the follies of fools, but fools will not follow the example of wise men. He used to say, that he loved young people that blushed, rather than such as grew pale; and that he did not like a soldier that moved his hands in marching, and his feet in fighting, and who snored louder in bed than he shouted in battle. Jesting on a very fat man, he said, *Of what service to his country can a body be, that has nothing but belly?* When a certain voluptuous man courted his friendship, he refused it, saying, that he could not live with a man whose palate had a quicker sensation than his heart. He used to say, that the soul of a lover lived in the body of another; and that in all his life he never repented but of three things; the first was, that he had trusted a secret to a woman; the second, that he had gone

\* Plutarch speaks here of those thousand Achæans, who, having been accused of being in a conspiracy to deliver up their country to the king of Persia, were seized, sent to Rome, and dispersed all over Italy, in the first year of the hundred and fifty-third Olympiad. There they continued seventeen years, after which, such as remained alive, who were about three hundred, were restored by a decree of the senate, which was particularly made in favour of Polybius, who was one of the number.

by water when he might have gone by land; and the third, that he had spent a day without doing any thing at all. To a very debauched old man, he said, *Friend, old age has deformities enough of its own, do not add to it the deformity of vice.* A tribune of the people who was suspected to be a poisoner, proposing an unjust law which he took pains to have passed, Cato said to him, *Young man, I do not know which is the most dangerous, to drink what you prepare, or to enact what you propose.* Being scurrilously treated by a man who led a licentious and dissolute life, *A contest,* said he, *between thee and me is very unequal; for thou canst bear ill language with ease, and return it with pleasure; but for my part, it is unusual to me to hear it, and disagreeable to speak it.* These are such of his sayings as have been transmitted to us, and by these we may judge of the rest.

Being chosen consul with his friend Valerius Flaccus, the government of that part of Spain by the Romans called *Citerior*, fell to his lot. I here, having subdued some of those nations by force of arms, and won others by kindness, he found himself all at once surrounded by an army of barbarians, and in danger of being defeated; and driven out of his new settlements. Whereupon he sent immediately to desire the assistance of the Celtiberians, his neighbours; but they demanding two hundred talents, as a reward for their service, all the officers of the army thought it intolerable that the Romans should be obliged to purchase assistance of barbarians; but Cato said, *This bargain is not so bad as you imagine; for if we conquer, we will pay them at the expense of our enemies; but if we are conquered, there will be no body either to pay, or make the demand.* But he won the battle, and after this every thing succeeded according to his desire. Polybius says, that the walls of all the cities of that part of Spain that lies on this side the river *Bætis*, were razed by his command in one and the same day, notwithstanding they were many in number,



number, and all of them full of brave and warlike men. Cato himself writes, that he took more cities than he spent days in his expedition, nor is this a vain boast, for they were in reality four hundred in number.

Notwithstanding his troops had taken a prodigious booty in this expedition, yet he gave besides to each man a pound of silver, saying, *It was better that all of them should return home with a little silver, than only a few with a great deal of gold.* And for his own part, he assures us, that of all the things that were taken during the whole war, nothing came to his share but what he ate and drank. Not, said he, that I blame such as make an advantage of these opportunities; but because I had rather contend with the best men for valour, than with the richest for wealth, or with the most covetous for love of money. And he not only kept himself clear from all kind of plunder and extortion, but likewise all his servants, and such as were more immediately under his command.

He had brought five servants with him to the army, one of which, whose name was *Paecus*, having bought three boys out of those that were taken prisoners, and finding his master had knowledge of it, durst not appear before him, but chose rather to hang himself than come into his presence; whereupon Cato caused the three boys to be sold, and the price of them to be put into the public treasure.

While he was busy in settling the affairs of Spain, Scipio the Great, who was his enemy, and had a mind to put a stop to the course of his success, and have the honour of finishing the war himself, prevailed so far by his power and interest, as to be chosen to succeed him in that government. After which he lost no time, but made all possible haste to take from Cato the command of the army; but he, hearing of his march, went to meet him, taking with him five companies of foot, and five hundred horse, as a convoy to attend him, and by the way defeated the *Lacetanians*, and took among

them six hundred Roman deserters, whom he caused to be put to death: and when Scipio seemed to resent it, he answered ironically, that Rome would then be great indeed, if men of birth would never suffer those who were more obscure to have the pre-eminence in virtue, and if they who were of the commonalty, as he himself was, would contend in virtue with those who were more eminent and honourable.

The senate having decreed, that nothing that had been established by Cato should be altered, the post which Scipio had so much courted, lessened his glory more than Cato's; for the whole time of his government was spent to no manner of purpose, in profound peace and total inactivity.

Nor did Cato, even after his triumph, grow remiss in the exercise of virtue, as many of those do, who strive not for virtue's sake, but vain-glory, and having enjoyed the highest honours, and obtained consulships and triumphs, pass the rest of their life in pleasure and idleness, and concern themselves no more in public affairs. But he, like those who are just entered upon business, and thirst after honour and fame, exerted himself, as if he was beginning his race anew, being always ready to serve his country either at the bar, or in the field. Thus he attended the consul Tiberius Sempronius, who was sent into Thrace, and to the Danube, and served as a lieutenant under him; and afterwards as a tribune under the consul Manius Acilius Glabrio, when he was sent into Greece against King Antiochus, who, next to Hannibal, seemed the most formidable enemy the Romans ever had; for having taken from Seleucus Nicanor all the provinces he possessed in Asia, and reduced to his obedience several barbarous, but warlike nations, in the pride of his success, he turned his victorious arms against the Romans, as against the only people that were worthy to contend with him. Accordingly he marched against them with a powerful army, co-

louring

louring his design with the specious pretence of delivering the Greeks; of which they stood in no need, since they were already made free, and were governed by their own laws, having been lately delivered from the yoke of King Philip, and the Macedonians, by the kindness of the Romans themselves.

At his approach all Greece was in a commotion, and unresolved how to act, having been corrupted by the mighty hopes given them by their orators, whom Antiochus had won over to his interest; but Acilius sent ambassadors to them, and confirmed them in their duty. Titus Flaminius likewise, without much trouble, baffled the attempts of those innovators, of which we have given an account in his life. Cato had the same success with the people of Corinth, as well as those of Patræ and Ægium; he also staid a great while at Athens. It is said, that there is still extant an oration of his which he spoke in Greek to the people of Athens on that occasion, in which he highly extols the virtue of their ancestors, and expresses the great pleasure he had in beholding the beauty and grandeur of that renowned city. But this report is not true, for he only spoke to the Athenians by an interpreter; not that he was unable to speak to them in their own tongue, but his intention was to maintain the dignity of the Roman language, and ridicule those who admired nothing but what was Greek. Thus he jested on Posthumius Albinus, who having written an history in Greek, asked his readers pardon for the improprieties he might be guilty of in a strange language: *He ought without doubt to be pardoned,* said Cato, *had he been obliged to write this history by order of the Amphictyons.* The Athenians, they say, admired the strength and brevity of his style; for what he expressed in a few words, the interpreter was forced to explain by long and tedious circumlocutions; insomuch that he left them



them in this belief, that the words of the Greeks flowed only from their lips, whilst those of the Romans came from their hearts.

When Antiochus had possessed himself of the passes of Thermopylæ, and to the natural strength of the place had added entrenchments and walls, he rested there, believing himself secure from any attack of the Romans, and that he had diverted the war another way; for the Romans themselves despaired of being ever able to force those passes. But Cato calling to mind the circuit the Persians had formerly taken to attack the Greeks in the same place, began to march by night with part of the army.

As they were endeavouring to reach the top of the mountains, the guide, who was a prisoner, missed his way, and wandering up and down through unpassable places, full of precipices, put the soldiers into an inexpressible dread and despair. Cato perceiving the danger, commanded the rest of the army to halt; and taking with him one Lucius Manlius, a man wonderfully dexterous at climbing the steepest mountains, he marched forward with great pains and danger in a very dark night, without the least moonshine, clambering over wild olive-trees, and steep craggy rocks, which stopped their view, and hindered them from seeing the way before them. At length, after a vast deal of pains, they found a little path, which seemed to lead them down to the bottom of the mountain where the enemy lay encamped. There they set up marks upon some of the most conspicuous rocks on the top of the mountain Callidromus; and returning the same way back to the army, they led it with them by the direction of the marks they had left, till they got into the little path again, where they halted, and made a proper disposition of their troops. After they had gone a little further, the path failed them all at once, and they saw before them a steep precipice.

cipice which threw them into new despair, for they could not yet perceive that they were near the enemy.

The day began now to appear, when some one among them thought he heard a noise, and a little after, that he saw the Grecian camp, and their advanced guard at the foot of the rock. Cato therefore making an halt, commanded the Firmians alone to come to him. These were the troops of whose courage and fidelity he had made the greatest proof on all hazardous occasions. When they were come, and stood round him in close order, he spoke thus to them: *I want to take one of the enemy alive, to know of him what these advanced troops are, and how many in number, and to be informed of the disposition and order of their whole army, and what preparation they have made to receive us; but to execute this, requires the speed and courage of lions, who rush unarmed into the midst of a flock of timorous beasts.*

Cato had no sooner done speaking, but the Firmians, all just as they were, rushed down the mountain, and falling unexpectedly upon the advanced guard, put them into disorder, dispersed them, took one armed man, and brought him to Cato. This prisoner informed him, that the main body of the army was encamped in the narrow passages with the king, and that the detachment that guarded the heights was six hundred select Ætolians. Cato, despising those troops, as well on account of the smallness of their number, as their carelessness and want of order, drew his sword and marched against them with loud shouts and the sound of trumpets. The Ætolians perceiving them pouring down upon them from the mountains, fled to their main guard, where they occasioned great disorder.

At the same time, Manius with the main body of the army forced Antiochus's entrenchments below. In this attack, Antiochus was wounded in the mouth.

mouth by a stone, and his teeth beaten out, the excessive pain of which forced him to turn his horse and retire. After his retreat, no part of his army durst stand the shock of the Romans, so that a general rout ensued; and though there seemed no hopes of escaping by flight, by reason of the straitness of the road, and the deep marshes and rocky precipices with which it was surrounded, nevertheless they threw themselves in crouds into those strait passages, and destroyed one another, out of fear of being destroyed by the Romans.

Cato, who was always free in his own commendations, and thought boasting a natural attendant on great actions, was not sparing on this occasion; for he sets off this last exploit in very high terms, saying, *That they who saw him fall upon the enemy, rout and pursue them, confessed that Cato owed less to the people of Rome, than the people of Rome did to Cato; and that the consul Manius himself coming hot from the fight, took him in his arms as he came panting and sweating from the battle, and embracing him a long time, cried out in a transport of joy, that neither he himself, nor all the people of Rome would ever be able fully to reward his services.*

After the battle, the consul sent Cato to carry the news of his own exploits to Rome. With a favourable wind he sailed to Brundisium; from thence he in one day reached Tarentum; and having travelled four days more, on the fifth day after he landed, he arrived at Rome, and was the first that brought news of this great victory. His arrival filled the city with joy and sacrifices, and gave the people so high an opinion of themselves, that they now imagined they were able to obtain universal dominion both by sea and land.

These are the greatest of Cato's military actions. As to his conduct in civil affairs, he seems to have been of opinion, that nothing more deserved the zeal and application of an honest man, than to accuse



ruse and prosecute offenders; for he himself prosecuted several, and encouraged and assisted others in carrying on such prosecutions. Thus he set up Petilius against the great Scipio; but he being a man of high birth and true magnanimity, treated their accusations with the utmost contempt. Cato finding that he could not capitally convict him, desisted from the prosecution; but joining with other accusers, he attacked his brother Lucius Scipio; he being condemned to pay a great fine, which he was unable to discharge, was in danger of being cast into prison; and it was with great difficulty, and by making his appeal to the tribunes, that he was at last dismissed.

It is said, that a certain young man having obtained a sentence of condemnation against an enemy of his father who was dead, and crossing the market-place the same day that judgment was given, Cato met him, and taking him by the hand, said to him, *These are the offerings we should make to the manes of our deceased ancestors; we ought to sacrifice to them, not the blood of goats and lambs, but the tears and condemnation of their enemies.*

However he did not escape these sort of attacks himself, during his administration; for whenever his enemies got the least hold of him, he was immediately called to an account, and prosecuted to the utmost, so that he was never out of danger; for it is said there were nigh fifty impeachments brought against him, the last of which happened when he was eighty-six years old; upon which occasion, he spoke this well-known saying, *It was very hard that he should be brought to justify to men of one generation, the actions he had performed in another.* But all his contests did not end here; for four years after, when he was ninety years old, he accused Servius Galba; so that, like Nestor, he saw the fourth generation, and, like him, was always in action. In short, after having constantly opposed the great  
Scipio

Scipio in state-affairs, he lived till the time of young Scipio, his adopted grandson, and son of Paulus Æmilius, who defeated king Perseus and the Macedonians.

Ten years after his consulship, Cato stood for the office of Censor, which was the highest post of honour, and the completion of all those dignities to which the ambition of a Roman citizen could aspire. For besides all the other power it contained, it gave him a right to inquire into the life and manners of every particular person. For the Romans were of opinion that no man ought to be allowed, either in marriage, in the procreation of children, in his ordinary manner of life, or in his entertainments, to follow his own inclinations, without being liable to inspection and censure. And being convinced that the dispositions of men are better discerned in the private affairs of life, than by such actions as are of a public and political nature, they chose two magistrates to be guardians, correctors, or reformers of manners, to hinder men from quitting the paths of virtue, for those of licentiousness and pleasure, and from changing the ancient and established customs for new fashions and modes of living. One of these was chosen out of the patricians, and the other from among the common people, and they were called *Censors*. They had a right to deprive a Roman knight of his horse, and to expel out of the senate any senator that lived a licentious and disorderly life. They took an estimate of every citizen's estate, and kept a particular account of the several families, qualities, and conditions of men in the commonwealth.

This office had several other great prerogatives annexed to it; so that when Cato stood for it, the most considerable persons in the senate opposed him. The patricians did it out of envy, imagining it would be a disgrace to their nobility to suffer

fer men of obscure birth to rise to the greatest honour and power; and others, conscious of their own ill lives and corrupt manners, opposed him out of fear, dreading his inexorable severity when in power, and his inflexibility in discharging his office. Having therefore consulted among themselves, they agreed to set up seven candidates in opposition to Cato. These soothed the people with fair hopes and promises, as though they wanted such magistrates as would govern them gently, and serve their pleasures. Cato, on the contrary, without condescending to the least flattery or complaisance, but threatening from the chair where he sat all wicked men to their face, and crying out aloud, that the city wanted great reformation, pressed and conjured the people to chuse, if they were wise, not the mildest, but the severest physicians; he told them, that he himself was one of that character, and such an one as they then stood in need of, and that among the patricians, Valerius Flaccus was another; and that he was the only person with whose assistance he could hope to render any considerable service to the state, by cutting off and searing, like the heads of the Hydra, that voluptuousness and luxury that had infected all the parts of the commonwealth. He added further, that all the others strove by unworthy means to obtain that office, because they dreaded such as would faithfully discharge the duties of their place.

The Roman people, on this occasion, showed themselves truly great, and worthy of great leaders; for, far from dreading the stiffness and severity of this inflexible man, they rejected all those smooth flatterers, who seemed inclined to render their authority easy and popular, and unanimously chose Valerius Flaccus and Cato, listening to the latter, not as a man that stood for the office of censor, but as one in the actual exercise of it, who, by virtue of his authority, gave forth his orders already.



The first thing Cato did, was to name his friend and colleague Lucius Valerius Flaccus chief of the senate, and to remove from thence several persons, and particularly Lucius Quintius, who had been consul seven years before, and, which was more honour to him than his consulship, was brother to Titus Flaminius \* who overthrew King Philip. The cause of his expulsion was this.

Lucius Quintius kept a beautiful youth, who was always near his person, and all the time he commanded the army had greater power and credit with him than any of his most intimate friends and acquaintance. Lucius being appointed a proconsul, went to reside in his province, and as he was one day at an entertainment, the youth who sat next to him as usual, who could manage him as he pleased, especially when he was in his cups, began to flatter and caress him, and among other things said to him, *I love you with so much passion, that though there was a combat of gladiators to be seen at Rome, which is a sight I never saw in my life, yet I would not stay to see it; and though I longed to see a man killed, yet I made all possible haste to wait upon you.* Lucius, to requite this tenderness, replied, *Be not uneasy, I will soon satisfy your longing;* and immediately ordered a man who was condemned to die, to be brought to the feast, together with the executioner and axe; he then asked his paramour if now he desired to see that fight? The boy answering that he did, Lucius commanded the executioner to cut off the man's head. This is mentioned by several historians, and Cicero in his dialogue on *old age* introduces Cato relating the same thing. Livy says that the man who was killed was a Gaul, who had deserted, and that he was not dispatched by the executioner, but by Lu-

\* Plutarch calls these two brothers, Titus Quintius Flaminius, and Lucius Quintius Flaminius, whom Polybius, Livy, Cicero, and all the historians call Titus Quintius Flaminius, and L. Quintius Flaminius, as may be seen in the remarks on the life of Titus Flaminius.

cius himself, and that Cato had written this account of it.

Lucius being thus expelled the senate, his brother Titus Flaminius, unable to support such an indignity, appealed to the people, requiring Cato to give his reasons for fixing such a stain upon his family. While Cato was doing this, and relating all the transactions of that feast, Lucius denied the fact; but Cato calling upon him to take his oath, he refused it; upon which the people determined that he had been justly punished. But afterwards at a public spectacle in the theatre, when Lucius passed by the place where those who had been consuls used to sit, and going on further, sat down in an obscure seat at a distance; the people who saw him took pity on him, and making a great noise, forced him to come back, and take his place among those of consular dignity, by that means repairing, as far as they were able, the disgrace that had befallen him.

Cato likewise removed out of the senate Manilius, another senator, who stood fair for the consulship, because he had kissed his wife in open day, and in the presence of his daughter. Cato said on this occasion, that his wife never embraced him but in loud claps of thunder, adding by way of raillery, *That he was happy when Jupiter thundered.*

He was much censured for his behaviour to Lucius, brother to the great Scipio, who had been honoured with a triumph for his victory over King Philip; for he took his horse from him at a review of the Roman knights; and it appeared to every one to have been done on purpose to insult the memory of Scipio Africanus. But nothing gave so general a disgust, as what he did towards reforming their luxury. It was impossible for him to carry his point by attacking it directly, because the whole body of the people was infected and corrupted; therefore he took an indirect method; for he caused all apparel, vehicles, womens orna-

ments, furniture, and household goods to be rated, and whatever exceeded fifteen hundred drachmas to be valued at ten times its worth, and imposed a tax according to that valuation. For every thousand asses he caused three to be paid; in order that they who found themselves heavily pressed by this tax, and saw other plain and frugal persons, of as good estates, pay less to the public than themselves, might be induced to abate their luxury. By this means he not only made those his enemies, who chose rather to bear the tax than abandon their luxury, but those also who gave up their luxury to avoid the tax. For the generality of mankind think that a prohibition to show their riches is the same thing as taking them away; and that a man's wealth is better seen in superfluities, than in the necessities of life. And this, it is said, was what surprised Aristo the philosopher; for he could not comprehend why men should account them who possessed superfluous things happy, rather than those who abounded in what was necessary and useful. But Scopas the Thessalian, when a friend asked him for something that could be of little use to him, and gave that for a reason why he should grant his request, made him this reply. *My friend, it is only in these useless and superfluous things that I think myself rich and happy.* Thus it is evident that this ardent desire of riches is not a natural passion, but is quite foreign and adventitious, the effect of a confused judgment and irregular imagination.

All the complaints and outcries against Cato had no effect at all upon him, unless to make him more severe and rigid. He caused all the pipes by which private persons conveyed the water from public fountains to their houses and gardens, to be cut off; and demolished all such buildings as jutted out into the streets. He very much beat down the price of public works, and farmed out the public revenues at an excessive price; whereby he brought upon himself the hatred of vast numbers of people; so  
that



that Titus Flaminius, and those of his party, exclaimed against him, and caused to be vacated in the senate the contracts he had made for repairing the temples and public buildings, as detrimental to the public; and they incited the most bold and factious of the tribunes to accuse him to the people, and fine him two talents. They likewise very much opposed him in his design of building a hall at the public charge below the senate-house; which however he finished, and called it the *Porcian hall*.

It appears, nevertheless, that the common people highly approved his conduct; for they erected a statue to him in the temple of Health, putting an inscription at the bottom, not of his battles, victories, or triumph, but this that follows: *To the honour of Cato the Censor, who by his good discipline and order reclaimed the Roman commonwealth, when the public licentiousness had brought it into a declining and dangerous state.*

However, before this statue was erected in honour of him, he used to laugh at those who valued and sought after such honours, saying, *that they were not aware that they gloried in the workmanship of founders, statuaries, and painters; and that for his part, he only gloried in leaving a beautiful image of himself engraven in the breasts of his fellow-citizens.* And to such as expressed their surprise, that so many obscure persons should have statues, and that he should have none, he used to say, *I had rather it should be asked, why no statue has been erected to Cato, than why there has?* And he would by no means allow that a good citizen should admit of any commendations, unless they turned to the advantage of the commonwealth; notwithstanding he was of all men the most forward to commend himself, in so much that when some citizens that had been guilty of misdemeanours, were reprov'd for it, he used to say, *They are excusable, for they are not Catos.* Concerning such as attempted to imitate some of his actions, but did it awkwardly, he used to say, *they*

were left-handed Catos. He likewise boasted, that in difficult and dangerous times the senate cast their eyes upon him, just as passengers in a ship do upon the pilot in a storm; and that very often when he was absent, they would put off affairs of the greatest importance till he came. Nor did he alone say these things of himself; they are confirmed by the testimony of others; for he had great authority in Rome on account of his prudent and regular life, his eloquence, and his age.

He was a good father, a good husband, and an excellent œconomist; for he did not think the care of his family a mean or trifling concern, that only deserved a slight and superficial attention: wherefore I think it will be of use to relate here what is known of him on that head.

He married a wife more noble than rich; for though he well knew that both riches and high birth do equally incline people to pride and haughtiness, yet he thought women of noble blood would be more ashamed of what was base and unworthy, and consequently more obedient to their husbands in whatever was laudable and good. He often said, that they who beat their wives or children, laid violent hands on what was most sacred; and that he preferred the commendation of being a good husband before that of being a great senator. And what he admired most in Socrates was, that he always lived easily and kindly with an ill-tempered wife and stupid children.

Whenever his wife was brought to bed, no business, how urgent soever, unless it related to the public, could hinder him from being present while she washed and swaddled the child; for she suckled it herself, nay, she often gave her breast to her servants children, to beget in them an affection towards her son, as having suckled the same milk. As soon as his son was capable of instruction, Cato took him and taught him himself, though he had a slave whose name was *Chilo*, a very honest man, and good grammarian,

grammarian, who had been intrusted with the education of other children : but he would not, as he said himself, have his son reprimanded by a slave, or pulled by the ears for being slow in learning ; nor could he suffer that his son should owe so great an obligation to a slave, as his education ; wherefore he himself undertook to be his preceptor in grammar, in law, and in the gymnastic art ; and he not only taught him how to throw a dart, to use the other military weapons, and to ride, but even to box, to endure both heat and cold, and to swim across the most rapid river. He relates himself, that he wrote histories for him with his own hand, in large characters, that so, without stirring out of his father's house, he might be acquainted with the laws and exploits of his ancestors. He was as careful to avoid all obscene discourse before his son, as if he had been in the presence of the Vestal virgins : nor would he ever bathe with him, though that indeed seems to be according to the common custom of the Romans ; for even sons-in-law never bathed with their fathers-in-law, being ashamed to appear naked before them. It is true, indeed, in process of time, the Greeks taught them to bathe naked one with another ; and they soon after taught the Greeks to do the same thing before the women, and bathe naked with them.

Thus Cato formed his son betimes, and trained him to virtue ; for he found him well-inclined, and apt to learn ; but, notwithstanding the excellency of his disposition, his body was too weak to undergo hard labour, which obliged his father to remit somewhat of the strictness and severity of his discipline. This weakness of constitution did not, however, hinder him from being a good soldier ; for he distinguished himself particularly in the battle that Paulus Æmilius fought against Perseus, where when his sword was struck out of his hand, the moisture of which prevented him from grasping it firmly, he with the utmost concern begged the assistance of some  
of



of his companions in recovering it, and forthwith rushed with them into the midst of the enemy. There he fought with such bravery, that he cleared the place where his sword lay, and at length found it under heaps of arms, and dead bodies of friends, as well as enemies, piled upon one another. Paulus Æmilius the general highly applauded this action of the young man; and there is a letter still extant, written by Cato to his son, in which he greatly commends his concern at losing his sword, and his bravery in recovering it. This young man afterwards married Tertia, daughter to Paulus Æmilius, and sister to young Scipio. The honour of being allied to which noble family was as much owing to his own, as his father's worth. Thus Cato's care in the education of his son fully answered his expectations.

He had several slaves which he purchased from among the captives taken in war, always chusing the youngest, and such as were most capable of receiving instruction, like whelps, or colts, that may be trained up and taught. None of these slaves ever went into any other man's house, except they were sent by Cato, or his wife; and if any one of them was asked what Cato was doing, he always answered, *He did not know*. For Cato desired to have his servants always either employed in the house, or asleep; and he liked those best that often slept, reckoning them more tractable and quiet, as well as more fit to perform their business, than those who were more wakeful. And as he knew that lewdness often prompts servants to commit even the worst of crimes, he allowed his slaves, at certain times, to have free conversation with his female slaves, upon paying a certain price; but under a strict prohibition of meddling with any other women.

At first, while he was poor, and served in the army only as a common soldier, he never was angry about any thing relating to his diet; for he thought nothing more ridiculous and shameful than to scold and

and quarrel with his servants on the account of his belly; but afterwards, when his circumstances were grown better, and he gave frequent entertainments to his friends and the principal officers of the army, he never failed, after dinner, to correct with leathern thongs such of them as had not given due attendance, or had suffered any thing to be spoiled. He always contrived means to make quarrels among his servants, and to keep them at variance, ever suspecting and fearing a good understanding among them. When any of them had committed a crime that deserved death, he punished them accordingly, if in the opinion of their fellow-servants they were found guilty. As his thirst after riches increased, he gave over agriculture, which he found yielded more amusement than profit; and turning his thoughts to things more sure and certain, he purchased ponds, hot springs, places proper for fullers, pastures, and woodlands, whereby a great revenue came to him, *such an one*, he used to say, *as Jupiter himself could not hurt.*

He was guilty of a most blameable kind of ship-usury; the manner of which was this: He obliged those to whom he lent money to form themselves into a company, for example, of fifty merchants, and to fit out fifty ships, in which he had one share, which Quintion, whom he had made a freeman, sailing with them, took care of, as his factor. All these merchants were bound for the money lent to them, every one for his particular sum; besides which he had his share in the company, by which means he did not run the risk of all his money, but only of a small part, and that with a prospect of vast advantage.

He lent money likewise to such of his slaves as had a mind to traffic, with which they bought young ones, who being instructed and brought up at Cato's expense, were sold at the year's end by auction, several of which Cato took himself at the price of the highest bidder, which he deducted out of the money

money he had lent. To incline his son to this sort of good management, he used to say, *That to diminish his paternal estate was not like a wise man, but a foolish widow.* But the most extravagant thing which he said on this subject, was, *that he was a wonderful man, nay godlike, and worthy of immortal glory, who made it appear by his accounts, that what he had added to his estate exceeded what he had received from his ancestors.*

When Cato was very far advanced in years, there arrived at Rome, two ambassadors from Athens, Carneades the Academic, and Diogenes the Stoic. They were sent by the Athenians with a request to the senate, to remit a fine of five hundred talents that had been imposed on them for contumacy, by the Sicyonians, at the prosecution of the Oropians \*. Upon the arrival of these philosophers all the youth that were the greatest lovers of learning went to wait on them, and heard them with inexpressible pleasure and admiration. But, above all, they were charmed with the gracefulness of Carneades's oratory, the force of whose eloquence was wonderfully great, nor was his reputation less; for having had the greatest and politest persons in Rome for his auditors, his fame, from the first, like a mighty wind, sounded through the whole city. It was every where said that a surprising Greek was arrived, who surpassed mankind in knowledge; who calming and softening the most outrageous passions by his eloquence, inspired the Roman youth with such a love of wisdom and learning, that, renouncing all other business and diversions, they applied themselves with an enthusiastic ardour to philosophy.

All the Romans were highly pleased on this account, nor could they without the utmost delight

\* The Athenians had plundered the city of Oropus. Upon complaint made by the inhabitants, the affair was referred to the determination of the Sicyonians; and the Athenians not appearing to justify themselves, were fined five hundred talents.



behold their youth thus fondly receive the Grecian literature, and frequent the company of these wonderful men. But Cato, from the beginning, as soon as ever he perceived this love of the Grecian learning prevail in the city, was highly displeased, fearing lest all the youth should turn their emulation and ambition that way, and prefer the glory of speaking to that of acting well, and distinguishing themselves in arms. But when he found that the reputation of these philosophers was universally spread abroad, and that their first discourses were in every body's hands, having been turned into Latin by Caius Acilius, one of the chief persons in the senate, who was both charmed with them himself, and had been likewise desired to translate them, he was no longer able to contain himself, but resolved to dismiss these philosophers under some decent and specious pretence.

When he was therefore come to the senate, he blamed the magistrates for detaining so long such ambassadors as those, who could easily persuade the people to whatever they pleased: *You ought, said he, with all speed to determine their affair, that so they may return to their schools, and instruct the Grecian children as much as they please, and that the Roman youth may listen only to their own laws and magistrates, as they did before their arrival.* This he said, not out of any particular enmity to Carneades, as some have thought, but because he was an enemy to philosophy, and took a pride in despising the Grecian muses, and all foreign erudition. For he used to call Socrates himself *a prating seditious fellow, who had endeavoured, as much as lay in his power, to tyrannize over his country, by abrogating their ancient customs, and leading his fellow-citizens into new opinions, contrary to the laws.* And to make a jest of the long time Socrates took in teaching his disciples, he used to say, *that his scholars grew old in learning their art, as if they were to use it in the next world, and plead causes there.* And to dissuade his son from applying himself to  
any

any of those arts, he pronounced in a louder tone than was suitable to his age, like a man inspired, and filled with a prophetic spirit, *that the Romans would certainly be destroyed when once they became infected with Greek.* But time has sufficiently shown the vanity of this wayward prediction; for Rome was at its highest pitch of glory and power when the Grecian literature flourished there, and all kind of learning was esteemed.

Nor was Cato a sworn enemy to the Grecian philosophers only, but to the physicians also; for having heard that Hippocrates, when the king of Persia sent for him, and offered him a reward of many talents, replied, *I will never make use of my skill in favour of barbarians who are enemies to the Greeks;* he maintained that this was a common oath taken by all physicians, and enjoined his son never to trust himself in their hands. He added, that he himself had written a little treatise wherein were several prescriptions, which he had used with good success when any of his family were sick; that he never enjoined fasting to any one, but always allowed himself and all his domestics herbs, with the flesh of a duck, pigeon, or hare; such kind of diet being the best, and easiest of digestion for sick persons, only that it made them dream in the night. In short, he assured them that by the assistance of these remedies only, together with his regimen, he preserved himself, and all that belonged to him, in perfect health. However, for this his presumptuous boasting, he seemed not to escape unpunished; for he lost his wife and son \*, though he himself held out longer; for he was of a very robust constitution, so that he would often, even in his old age, make use of women; nay when he was past a lover's age, he married a young woman, and that upon the following pretence.

After the death of his wife he married his son to

\* Whoever reads Cato's books may justly wonder that his method and medicines had not destroyed his whole family.

Paulus Æmilius's daughter, who was sister to young Scipio; and himself continued a widower, but made use of a young slave, who came privately to him; but this intrigue could not remain long a secret in a small house, with a daughter-in-law in it: wherefore, one day, as the favourite slave was passing with too haughty an air to Cato's bedchamber, his son, without saying a word to her, gave her an angry look, and then turned from her with indignation. The old man being informed of this circumstance, and finding that this sort of commerce was by no means agreeable either to his son, or his daughter-in-law, without taking the least notice of what had passed, or expostulating with them, as he was going early the next morning, according to custom, with his usual company to the Forum, called aloud to one Salonius, who had been his secretary, and then attended him, and asked him if his daughter was married; and when he replied, *That she was not yet married, and that she never should without his consent*; Cato told him, *Why then I have found out a very fit husband for her, provided she can bear with the inequality of age, for he is in all other respects unexceptionable, but he is very old*. When Salonius said, *that he left the disposal of her entirety to him, for that she was his client, under his immediate protection, and had nothing to depend upon but his bounty*; Cato, without any further ceremony, answered, *I will be thy son-in-law*. The man was at first surpris'd at the proposition, as may easily be imagined; for on the one hand he considered Cato as a man past the age of marrying, and on the other, he could not but look on himself as far too low for an alliance with a person of consular dignity, and one who had triumphed. However, when he found Cato was in earnest, he embraced the offer with great joy and thankfulness; and the marriage-contract was signed as soon as they came to the Forum.

Whilst they were busy preparing for the nuptials,



Cato's son, taking some of his friends and relations with him, went to his father, and asked him, for what offence committed by him, he was going to put a mother-in-law upon him? Cato immediately replied, *There is no offence, my son; I find nothing to complain of in all thy behaviour; I am only desirous to have more such sons, and to leave more such citizens to my country.* But Pisistratus, tyrant of Athens, is said to have returned such an answer long before Cato, when, after he had several children, who were grown up, he took a second wife, Timonassa of Argos, by whom he is said likewise to have had two sons, Jophon and Theffalus.

Cato had a son by this second wife, whom he called *Salonius* from his mother's father. As for his eldest son Cato, he died in his prætorship. His father makes frequent mention of him in his works, as a person of extraordinary merit. He bore this loss with the temper of a philosopher, without suffering it to interrupt him in his application to affairs of state. He did not, like Lucius Lucullus, and Metellus Pius, grow remiss in his care of the public as he grew in years, but looked upon that as a duty that was incumbent upon him as long as he lived; nor did he follow the example of Scipio Africanus, who, because the envy and ill-will of his fellow-citizens denied him the honours due to his extraordinary services, refused to serve his country any longer, and spent the remainder of his life in retirement and inaction. But as one told Dionysius, that the most honourable death was to die in the possession of the sovereign power, so Cato esteemed that the most honourable old age, which was spent in serving the public. At his leisure hours he diverted himself with husbandry and writing. He left behind him several histories, and other works on various subject. In his younger days he applied himself to agriculture for the sake of gain; for he used to say, he had but two ways of increasing his income,

income, which were *husbandry* and *parsimony*; but as he grew old he regarded it only as an amusement. He wrote a book concerning country-affairs \*, in which he treats particularly of making cakes, and preserving fruit; being very desirous to be thought curious and singular in every thing. He kept a better table in the country than at Rome, for he always invited some of his friends in the neighbourhood to sup with him; and his conversation was agreeable, not only to such as were of the same age with himself, but even to young men; for he had a thorough knowledge of the world, and had either seen himself, or heard from others, many things that were curious and entertaining. He thought the table the properest place for the forming of friendships; and at his the conversation generally turned upon the commendation of brave and worthy men, without any aspersions cast upon those who were otherwise; for he would not allow in his company one word, either good or bad, to be said of such kind of men.

The last service he did the public, was the destruction of Carthage. Scipio indeed put the finishing stroke to that work, but it was undertaken by the counsel and advice of Cato; and the occasion of the war was this. Massinissa, king of Numidia, and the Carthaginians being at war with each other, Cato was sent into Africa to inquire into the cause of the quarrel. Massinissa had long been a friend and ally to the Romans, and the Carthaginians had likewise been in alliance with them ever since the great overthrow they had received from the elder Scipio †, who stript them of a great part

\* This is the only work of his that remains entire; the rest are no more than fragments.

† He obliged them to deliver up their fleet, yield to Massinissa part of Syphax's dominions, and pay the Romans ten thousand talents. This peace, which put an end to the second Punic war, was made in the third year of the 140th Olympiad; 200 years before Christ.

of their dominions, and imposed a heavy tribute upon them. When Cato arrived at Carthage, he found the city not (as the Romans imagined) in a low and declining condition, but, on the contrary, full of men fit to bear arms, abounding in wealth, furnished with prodigious warlike stores of all sorts, and possessed with great confidence in her own strength. He soon perceived that it would be loss of time to the Romans to endeavour to adjust the matters in dispute between the Carthaginians and Numidians; but that if they did not without delay make themselves masters of that city, which was their ancient enemy, and retained strong resentments of the usage she had received from them, and which had in a short space of time not only recovered herself after all her losses and sufferings, but was prodigiously increased in wealth and power, they would unavoidably be plunged again into their former dangers and difficulties. With these thoughts and reflections he returned in all haste to Rome, where he told the senate, *That all the misfortunes that had befallen the Carthaginians had not so much drained them of their forces, as cured them of their folly; that in all their former wars with them the Romans had not weakened them, but rendered them more warlike, and experienced; that their conflicts with the Numidians were no other than essays, or exercises, by which they were trained up, and inured, that they might be the better able one day to cope with the Romans; that the late peace was a mere name, it being nothing more than a suspension of arms; and that they only waited for a favourable opportunity to renew the war.* It is said that at the conclusion of his speech he shook his gown, and purposely dropped in the senate-house some figs he had brought out of Africa; and when he found they were admired by the senators for their beauty and largeness, he told them, *That the country where that fruit grew was but three days sail from Rome.* But what most strongly shows his enmity to Carthage,

is,



is, that he never gave his opinion in the senate upon any other point whatever, without concluding with these words, *And my opinion is, that Carthage should be destroyed.* Scipio, surnamed *Nasica*, maintained the contrary, and ended all his speeches thus, *My opinion is, that Carthage should be left standing.* It is very likely that this great man perceiving the people were arrived to such a pitch of insolence as inclined them to run into any sort of excess, and that being elated with prosperity, they were no longer to be restrained by any reverence to the senate, but were grown so absolute as to be able to guide the city as they pleased, thought it best that Carthage should remain to keep them in awe, and to moderate and restrain their presumption. For he knew that the Carthaginians were too weak to subdue the Romans, and that the Romans were not in a condition to despise the Carthaginians. On the other hand, it seemed a dangerous thing to Cato, that a city which had been always great, and was now grown sober and wise from her former calamities, should still lie watching every advantage against the Romans, who were now become wanton and giddy by reason of their great power; so that he thought it the wisest course to have all outward dangers removed, at a time when, through their depravity and corruption, they had so many hanging over their heads at home.

Thus Cato, they say, stirred up the third and last war against the Carthaginians; but as soon as it was begun he died, prophesying of the person that should put an end to it. He was then a young man, but he was a tribune in the army, and had given great proofs of his courage and conduct. When the news of his first exploits was brought to Rome, Cato cried out,

*In him alone the soul and sense remain;*

*The rest are fleeting forms and shadows vain. Hom.*

This prophecy Scipio soon confirmed by his actions.

Cato left one son by his second wife, who, as we observed before, was called *Salonius*, and a grandson by the son of his first wife, who died before him. Cato *Salonius* died in his prætorship, and left behind him a son called *Marcus*, who was afterwards consul. *Salonius* was grandfather of Cato the philosopher, the best and greatest man of his time.

### The Comparison of ARISTIDES with CATO.

HAVING mentioned the most memorable actions of these great men, if the whole life of the one be compared with that of the other, it will not be easy to discern the difference between them, there being so many strong circumstances of resemblance. But if we examine the several parts of their lives distinctly, as we consider a poem or a picture, we shall find this common to them both, that they advanced themselves to great honour and dignity in the commonwealth, by no other means than their own virtue and abilities. It is true, when *Aristides* appeared, Athens was not in its grandeur; the chief magistrates of his time being men only of moderate and equal fortunes: the estimate of the greatest estates then was five hundred medimni; of those of the second order who were called *knights*, three hundred; and of those of the third order, called *Zeugitæ*, two hundred. But Cato, out of a petty village and from a country life, launched into the commonwealth, as it were into a vast ocean, at a time when there were no such governors as the *Curii*, *Fabricii*, and *Hostilii*; poor labouring men were not then advanced from the plough and spade to be governors and magistrates; but greatness of family, riches, large distributions among the people, and servility in courting their favour, were the only things regarded by the Romans, who were  
 now

now elated with the strength of their common-wealth; and who loved to humble those who stood candidates for any preferment. It was very different to have such an one as Themistocles for an adversary, a person of mean extraction and small fortune, (for he was not worth, as it is said, above three, or five talents at the most, when he first applied himself to public affairs), and to contest with Scipio Africanus, Servius Galba, and Quintus Flaminius, without any other assistance, or support, but a tongue accustomed to speak with freedom, and to maintain truth and justice. Besides, Aristides at Marathon, and again at Plataeæ, was but a tenth commander; whereas Cato was chosen one of the two consuls when he had many competitors, and was preferred before seven most noble and eminent candidates to be one of the two censors. Besides, Aristides was never principal in any action, for Miltiades won the day at Marathon; Themistocles at Salamis; and, as Herodotus tells us, Pausanias got the glory of the important victory at Plataeæ; nay further, Sophanes, Aminias, Callimachus, and Cynægirus, behaved so well in all those engagements, that they contended with Aristides even for the second place.

But Cato obtained the chief praise for courage and conduct, not only in the Spanish war when he was consul; but even whilst he was only tribune at Thermopylæ, and under another's command, he gained the glory of the victory; for he as it were opened a large gate for the Romans to rush in upon Antiochus, and brought the war on the back of one who minded only what was before him; for that victory, which was beyond dispute Cato's own work, drove Asia out of Greece, and by that means made a way thither afterwards for Scipio. Both of them indeed were always victorious in war; but at home Aristides was defeated, being banished and oppressed by the faction of Themistocles; whilst Cato, notwithstanding he had almost all the  
chief



chief men of Rome his adversaries, who did not leave off contending with him even in his old age; yet like a skilful wrestler he still kept his footing; and though he was engaged also in many public suits, sometimes as plaintiff, sometimes as defendant, he generally succeeded in his prosecution of others, and was always acquitted when prosecuted himself; his unblemished life was the bulwark by which he defended himself, and his eloquence the weapon by which he annoyed his enemies; and to this more truly than to chance or fortune, the sustaining his dignity to the last ought to be ascribed. For Antipater writing of Aristotle the philosopher, after his death, among the other great qualities that philosopher was possessed of, mentions this as one of the greatest, that he was endowed with a faculty of persuading men to whatever he pleased.

Political virtue, or the art of governing cities and kingdoms, is undoubtedly the greatest perfection that the nature of man can acquire; and it is generally agreed, that œconomy, or the art of governing a family, is no small part of this virtue; for a city, which is a collection of private families, cannot be in a flourishing and prosperous condition, unless the families of which it is composed be flourishing and prosperous too. And Lycurgus, when he prohibited the use of gold and silver in Sparta, and gave the citizens money made of iron, that had been spoiled by the fire, did not design to discharge them from minding their household affairs, but only to prevent luxury, (which is as it were a tumour and inflammation caused by riches), that every one might have the greater plenty of the necessities of life. By this establishment of his it appears, that he saw further than any other legislator, and that he was sensible that every society had more to fear from the poor and necessitous part of it, than from those that were rich and haughty. Therefore Cato was no less solicitous in the management of domestic concerns, than in the government of public affairs;

affairs; for he increased his estate, and became an example to others in œconomy and husbandry; concerning which he collected in his writings many useful things; whereas Aristides by his poverty made justice odious, as if it were the pest and impoverisher of a family, and beneficial to all but those that were endowed with it. Hesiod, however, has said many things to exhort us both to justice and œconomy, and inveighs against idleness as the origin of injustice. This is well represented by Homer in these lines;

*The works of peace my soul disdain'd to bear,  
The rural labour or domestic care;  
To raise the mast, the missile dart to wing,  
And send swift arrows from the bounding string,  
Were arts the gods made grateful to my mind.*

By this he intimates, that those who neglect their own estates are naturally led to support themselves by violence and rapine. The physicians say of oil, that outwardly applied it is very wholesome, but taken inwardly very destructive; but we must not in the same manner assert, that it is necessary for a just man to be useful to others, but unprofitable to himself and his family. Therefore in this Aristides's politics seem to have been defective; for (as it is generally said) he was so negligent of his fortune, as not to leave behind him enough for the portions of his daughters, or even for the expense of his own funeral. Whereas Cato's family produced consuls and prætors to the fourth generation; for his grandsons and their children came to the highest preferments: but Aristides, who was the principal man of Greece, through extreme poverty reduced some of his descendents to get their living by showing jugglers tricks; others, to hold out their hands for public alms; leaving none of them means to perform any thing great, or worthy his dignity. But on the other hand it may be said, that poverty

is

is dishonourable not in itself, but when it is a sign of laziness, intemperance, luxury, and carelessness; and that when it is associated with all the virtues in a temperate, industrious, just, and valiant statesman, it shows a great and elevated mind; for he is unfit for great things, who busies himself in trifles; nor can he relieve the many needy, who himself needs many things. The great qualification for serving the public is not wealth, but a mind that is satisfied in itself, and which requiring no superfluity at home, leaves the man at full liberty to serve the commonwealth. God is entirely exempt from all want; and in proportion as the virtuous man lessens his wants, he approaches nearer to the perfection of the Divine Being. For as a body well built for health, requires nothing exquisite, either in cloaths or food; thus it is in the whole system of a man's life, and in a family; when they are well constituted, they are easily supported. Now riches ought to be proportioned to the use we make of them; he that amasses a great deal, and makes use of but little, is not better for his wealth; for if, while he is solicitous to increase it, he has no desire of those things which wealth can procure, he is foolish; if he does desire them, and through forbiddness of temper abstains from enjoying them, he is miserable. If the end of acquiring riches is that they may be enjoyed, I would ask Cato himself why he gloried in being contented with little, though he possessed much? But if it be noble, as indeed it is, to feed on coarse bread, to drink the same wine with our servants and labourers, and not to covet purple and plastered houses, neither Aristides, nor Epaminondas, nor Manius Curius, nor Caius Fabricius are to be censured for neglecting to acquire what they did not like to use: and it was a great weakness in such a man as Cato, who esteemed turnips a most delicate food, and who boiled them himself while his wife kneaded the bread, to

talk



talk so much and so minutely about money, and to write how a man may soonest grow rich; for to be content with little is no otherwise the proof of a great mind, than as it frees a man from all care about procuring superfluities, at the same time that it removes the desire of enjoying them. Therefore Aristides, when he was speaking in defence of Callias, said, *that it became them only to blush at poverty, who were poor against their will; that they, who like him were willingly so, might glory in it*; for it is ridiculous to think Aristides's poverty was to be imputed to sloth, since he might, without any reproach, by the spoil of one Barbarian, or the plunder of one tent, have become wealthy. But enough of this.

As to the difference between them in their warlike expeditions, Cato's added not much to the Roman empire, which already was very great; but those of Aristides are the noblest, most splendid and important actions in which the Greeks were ever concerned, the battles at Marathon, Salamin, and Platææ. Nor is the defeat of Antiochus, nor the demolition of the walls of the Spanish towns to be compared with the destruction of so many thousands of barbarians both by sea and land in the war with Xerxes. In all these noble exploits Aristides was inferior to none in valour; but he left the glory and the laurels, as well as the wealth and money, to those who desired them more; for he was above all those things. I do not blame Cato for perpetually boasting and preferring himself before all others, though in one of his orations he says, *It is equally absurd to praise and dispraise one's self*; but in my opinion he is more perfectly virtuous who does not so much as desire the praises of others, than he who is always extolling himself; for modesty does not a little contribute to that mildness of temper which becomes a statesman, whereas pride and ambition render a man harsh and morose, and necessarily

necessarily expose him to envy. From this fault Aristides was entirely free, but Cato was very subject to it. For Aristides, by assisting his enemy Themistocles in matters of the highest importance, and acting as it were the part of an officer under him, restored the city of Athens; whereas Cato, by opposing Scipio, almost ruined and defeated his expedition against the Carthaginians, in which he overthrew Hannibal, who till then was invincible, and at last, by continually raising suspicions and calumnies against him, he drove him out of the city, and caused his brother to be condemned with ignominy, having accused him of embezzling the public money.

As to the virtue of temperance, which Cato always highly extolled, Aristides preserved it truly pure and untainted: but Cato's marriage, unbecoming his dignity and age, drew upon him no slight or improbable suspicion of his wanting this virtue. For it was not at all decent for him at that age to bring home to his son and his daughter-in-law, a young wife whose father had been his secretary, and received wages of the public. But whether he did this out of lust, or to be revenged of his son for the affront put upon his favourite slave, both the fact and the cause were dishonourable. And the reason which he ironically gave to his son was false; for if he desired to get more worthy children, he ought to have considered it before, and to have married some person of quality, and not to have delayed it till his criminal conversation with so mean a woman came to be discovered; and when it was discovered, he ought not to have chosen him for his father-in-law whom he could most easily prevail upon, but him whose alliance would have been most honourable.

21 AU 69  
*The End of the* SECOND VOLUME.

